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INF Treaty Verification Process Continues

Historic Nature Viewed

PM2507151788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 7

[Own political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev "Viewpoint" article: "Yesterday It Seemed Inconceivable"]

[Text] People have called the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles the first step toward a nuclear-free world. The word "first" includes a recognition of the unique nature of this international agreement. Never before have the two great powers come to a voluntary agreement to eliminate two entire classes of arms—and nuclear arms at that! But it is not just the fact that the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles was concluded that is extraordinary, but also many other things linked with its elaboration and implementation. Including measures to monitor its fulfillment.

"A team of 70 Soviet inspectors has arrived at the Travis AFB near San Francisco. In accordance with the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles they will start on-site inspection with a view to monitoring fulfillment of its provisions... Soon after this meeting the 22 inspectors left the Travis base for Magna, Utah, to visit the secret plant producing components for Pershing-2 missiles." This is an extract from a TASS correspondent report. Here is what ABC television said the same day on its news programs: "Twenty teams of U.S. inspectors arrived in the Soviet Union Friday evening to observe and monitor the INF treaty. They will monitor missile bases in East Europe."

The outward ordinariness of these reports conceals the start of activity never before seen in history. Activity to prepare for the implementation of the first step toward a nuclear-free world. How will all this be done in practice? In the space of 3 years the two countries will have to destroy a total of more than 2,500 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles (approximately 4 percent of nuclear arsenals). The destruction will be carried out in different ways: by detonating, burning, or by launching (for an agreed number of intermediate-range missiles). The nose section casing will be crushed under pressure and the nuclear warhead will be assigned for reuse [yadernyy zaryad peredayetsya na utilizatsiyu]. Launchers and auxiliary equipment will be eliminated by rendering them unusable as combat hardware. And it is permitted to use former mobile launchers and transporters (truck tractors) in the national economy.

The verification measures envisaged by the treaty are unprecedented. For the first time it is planned to conduct on-site inspections with representatives of the other side visiting military bases, dumps, and plants that relate to the arms in question. Inspection will be carried out both on Soviet and U.S. territory and on the territory of other countries where these missiles are located—the GDR and the CSSR on the one hand, and the FRG, Britain, Italy, Belgium, and the Netherlands on the other. It will cover a 13-year period—the 3 years during which the missiles are to be destroyed and the 10 years following.

The inspection teams whose arrival was reported by the mass media will carry out the initial work—making an inventory, as it were, of what is to be eliminated. Subsequently, inspectors will observe the actual process of missile elimination and visit the bases listed. There will be permanent inspection at two sites. In the Soviet Union this will be the Votkinsk Machine Building Plant in the Udmurt ASSR, and in the United States it will be the Hercules Plant No 1 at Magna, Utah.

Allowing foreign specialists and qualified "spies" [soglyadatay] into military bases and military plants to inspect everything coming in and out? Just 2 or 3 years ago nobody would have believed it possible. Today it is reality. The two countries accepted it voluntarily, realizing that this "revelation of military secrets" accords with their interests. Because without the most stringent verification there can be no disarmament. Because adequate information about each other's armed forces, introducing an element of predictability, becomes a factor of stability in our dangerous nuclear missile era.

Of course, the world in which we now live still bears the imprint of the old world in many respects. The confrontation between the two military-political alliances remains a reality. As does the fact that the colossal means of destruction accumulated by the countries threaten to destroy mankind. But the shoots of a new world setup are pushing up like grass through asphalt. They are the shoots of a future where the peoples' interests will be served not by secrecy but by glasnost, not by superiority in arms but by parity at the lowest possible level, and not by gambles on force but by the complete elimination of all means of mass destruction.

U.S. Official Interviewed

PM2507145988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Jul 88 p 3

[Interview with Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Wagovich, "representative of the U.S. Defense Department On-Site Inspection Agency," conducted by own correspondent V. Sisnev under "We Report the Details" rubric: "An American Military Man's Opinion: Conditions Are Being Fully Met"]

[Text] Washington, 21 Jul—Soviet military specialists have already visited the United States twice, carrying out snap [vnezapnyy] inspections at four missile bases in conformity with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. How is inspection carried out in practice, and what are the conditions that must be observed by the receiving side, in this instance the Americans? I asked Lieutenant Colonel Joseph Wagovich, representative of the U.S. Defense Department's specially created On-Site Inspection Agency (OSIA), to

answer these and other questions of interest to TRUD readers. He has personally been a member of American escort teams, so his information is first hand, so to speak.

Wagovich: The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles stipulates that each side must notify its intention to carry out an inspection at least 16 hours before the arrival of its inspectors on the other country's territory. The information is conveyed via nuclear-risk reduction centers set up in both countries. In the United States one of two points of arrival is possible—Washington or San Francisco. On arrival on American soil the Soviet inspectors had to name the locations they wished to visit within 48 hours. All these locations are laid down in the treaty. We have 10 of them, but some contain two missile bases, giving a total of 17. After notification we have 9 hours (no more!) to convey the Soviet team to its destination. On site 1 hour is given over to so-called preinspection information: The visitors are supplied with requisite data on what they are to see and also certain information to ensure their personal safety.

Sisnev: For example?

Wagovich: For example, certain of our bases are sited in localities where dangerous poisonous snakes are not uncommon. That, of course, is just one example. Inspection proper lasts 24 hours. If for some reason this period is insufficient, it can with our agreement be extended a further 8 hours. This need has not arisen so far. Four hours are then allocated for writing a report on the results of the inspection [obsledovaniye], which basically consists of listing the military equipment present. The team leader also enters comments that he deems necessary and briefs the accompanying American group on the findings. We enter what we deem necessary—whether we agree with the conclusions or not—in the same form. Two copies are made, both of which are signed by the team leaders. The Soviet inspectors must then be returned to Washington or San Francisco in the shortest time possible, from where they set off home within the next 24 hours. But they are entitled to express a desire to carry out another inspection in another locality. And then we are again obliged to carry this out within a maximum of 9 hours.

Sisnev: Have any conflict situations arisen during the last two inspections?

Wagovich: I am not authorized to answer that kind of question.

Sisnev: Then I will rephrase my question. Have you been satisfied with the way inspection has been carried out?

Wagovich: I can only express my personal opinion, but I think that it reflects the general feeling. We can be satisfied with both the way our cooperation has begun and the way both sides are demonstrating readiness to cooperate to achieve the best results. I am also thinking of the inspections carried out by our teams in the Soviet Union.

Sisnev: Under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles a permanent center of residence for Soviet inspectors is being set up in the city of Magna, Utah. What is it, and why was that locality chosen?

Wagovich: It involves observing an enterprise producing missile equipment in each of our countries. A permanent team of up to 30 inspectors will in this case be based in the vicinity of Plant No 1 producing Hercules aircraft (C-130 military transport planes—editor). It previously produced motors for Pershings, so the inspectors will with the aid of appropriate equipment be able to observe what kind of freight is delivered to and leaves the plant and whether any violations of the treaty are taking place there. A permanent team of 22 people arrived at the same time as the first Soviet inspection team on 2 July and is now in Magna—albeit, it is true, in a temporary headquarters. But in 6 months' time it will receive a permanent residence.

Sisnev: The Soviet Union has notified the United States that the destruction of intended missiles will begin at five locations on 1 August. The U.S. side, however, has not so far set any timetable. What is the reason for this?

Wagovich: We have indeed not yet given a precise date, but I think that it will be done very soon. I do not know exactly what has caused the delay but, as far as I am aware, while all the locations for missile destruction have not yet been determined, the process is under way now.

Sisnev: As a professional military man, what do you think of the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles?

Wagovich: I am very optimistic. Judging by the way the first inspections have proceeded, the treaty can and must be carried out. This is a unique phenomenon in itself; it is the first time our countries have achieved such a degree of mutual understanding. We have never carried out such inspections before, but I am certain that they will be carried out successfully and to our mutual satisfaction.

U.S. To Inspect CSSR Missile Base

PM2507145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "U.S. Inspection in CSSR"]

[Text] Prague, 21 Jul—The United States yesterday expressed a desire to inspect the former Soviet missile base in the CSSR in the region of the population center of Hranice on the basis of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

CTK reported that the CSSR—in accordance with the inspections agreement between the CSSR, the USSR, and the GDR—had consented to the inspection. A group comprising 10 American inspectors will arrive in the CSSR on 21 July.

NATO's Woerner Views Arms, CSCE Talks

LD2607130088 Moscow TASS in English 1157 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Bonn July 26 TASS—NATO secretary general gave an interview to the DPA agency where he expressed the hope that the states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe would soon agree, within the framework of the Vienna meeting, all questions pertaining to the start of the talks on cutting armed forces and conventional weapons. He counts on the start of these talks even this year, he noted.

Woerner spoke out against hinging the start of conventional weapons talks on drafting by NATO countries of a joint concept for disarmament. In his words, the West will be able to present a concept taking into account all aspects of the policy of security and control over armaments by the summer of the next year.

The NATO secretary general ducked the question whether the North Atlantic bloc was ready to hold parallel talks on conventional weapons and on cutting and subsequent elimination of tactical nuclear weapons. He tried again to ascribe to the Warsaw Treaty "ability for a surprise attack", alleging that the West had no such cuts in the near future in the strength of U.S. troops in Europe where, according to the DPA agency, there are at present some 325,000 U.S. troops.

Western View of Pact Proposals Noted

PM2607100988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[Article by political observer Gennadiy Vasilyev: "On European Salient; Socialist Countries' New Initiatives Are the Focus of Attention"]

[Excerpts] Hundreds of statements, articles, and commentaries contain comments from political leaders, public figures, and newspapers on the results of the conference of the Warsaw Pact states' Political Consultative Committee. [passage omitted]

In formulating briefly the thrust of the Political Consultative Committee's decisions, I would say that they open up the possibility for a new breakthrough in the movement toward a secure, nonviolent world. This time in the sphere of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

It is hard to overestimate the importance of this step forward. Europe is a part of our planet where the two military-political blocs directly confront each other. Millions of servicemen, tens of thousands of tanks and aircraft, and enormous arsenals of ammunition are concentrated here. And although we call these weapons conventional, in terms of their lethal force under the conditions of our continent they differ little from nuclear weapons.

The entry into force of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was the first step toward a nuclear-free world. It showed that disarmament is possible, that it is an entirely realistic task. But at the same time it raised the question: what next? Some NATO people, the most inert and bellicose among them, have launched dangerous activity in an attempt to delay and complicate the disarmament process. They are obsessed with the idea of "compensation" for the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles which are being eliminated and are calling for the modernization of other armaments not covered by the treaty. The argument that the Warsaw Pact countries have "overwhelming superiority in conventional forces" is being put into play again. In actual fact there are imbalances and asymmetries in the armed forces of the two military-political alliances. In some forms, in tanks, for instance, the advantage is on the side of the Warsaw Pact Organization, while in others, aircraft for instance, NATO has precedence. The correlation of the two alliances' forces is also uneven when broken down into regions.

In general it must be said that the assertion of the superiority of Soviet Armed Forces in Europe has for many years served as a kind of barrier which is used to cut off the process of disarmament, including a 50 percent reduction of strategic nuclear arms. This obstacle, if the West's reply is constructive, would now be removed. The imbalances and asymmetries would be eliminated and the forces of the two alliances would acquire a strictly defensive nature. The effective system of control envisaged in the proposals will also eliminate another question—the possibility of the concealment of facts, of deception.

The socialist countries showed again that they are not seeking one-sided advantages and are prepared to advance in the disarmament process on all salients in such a way that balance and parity are maintained at each stage. It is now up to the West to speak. Whether mankind succeeds in accomplishing a new bound toward a world built on reason depends on the West's readiness to display a constructive approach.

As a whole, optimistic notes prevail in the foreign reaction to the Political Consultative Committee's new initiatives. It is admitted that the socialist countries have displayed farsightedness, boldness, and flexibility, that they are ready to go half way to meet their Western partners' wishes, to seek constructive denouements for existing problems. The participants in the session of EEC ministers' council held in Athens assessed these initiatives positively. "The positions of East and West on disarmament issues look as though they are beginning to come closer," Belgian Foreign Relations Minister L. Tindemans sums up. "The Warsaw Pact's position on the question of the asymmetric reduction of armaments and on-site verification of the disarmament process was greeted very positively by the foreign ministers of the 12 EEC countries."

The decisions of the Warsaw conference were well received among leading circles in Bonn and Paris. During French Prime Minister M. Rocard's visit to the FRG,

he and Chancellor H. Kohl spoke with approval of the Warsaw Pact's proposals and expressed themselves in favor of their careful study by the NATO allies. The West German Social Democrats go even further. E. Bahr, the Social Democratic Party of Germany's expert on questions of disarmament, advocated holding a special meeting of the NATO countries' leaders for a detailed discussion of the Political Consultative Committee's initiatives. In Bahr's opinion they offer the West broad scope for steps in response.

These and other positive assessments by Western politicians give rise to the hope for a countermovement, hope that the socialist countries' proposals will be successfully implemented. But we cannot fail also to note other voices, another reaction. The NATO leadership has been failing to express itself on the thrust of the matter for a suspiciously long time, citing the fact that it is still studying the Warsaw documents. London is silent. Washington is pretending that nothing has happened. It is being said that the Americans are too busy right now with their election affairs to notice "anything far from their own shores." But the United States does after all consider itself the NATO leader and much depends on Washington's position.

A certain confusion can be sensed in the NATO countries' conduct in the face of the socialist countries' proposals. How many years they have spent trumpeting about the "menacing superiority" of Soviet Armed Forces in Europe and intimidating the public with the danger of a "Soviet tank invasion." And suddenly these "reliable arguments" are losing their strength. Logic suggests that we must sit at the conference table and do real politics. But some people are obviously not ready for this. The habit of thinking in terms of "strength" and gaining points by propaganda maneuvers is having an effect.

The most thoughtful observers believe that the West is lagging behind in assimilating the ideas of the new political thinking, that it needs its own restructuring. The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN writes about this in particular: "In the period 1979 through 1984 NATO and the Warsaw Pact did not cede their place to each other not only in terms of weapons but also in terms of lack of political flexibility." Then, THE GUARDIAN notes, the Soviet Union undertook a reassessment of its foreign policy reflecting the realities of the present-day world. "So far no similar self criticism is to be noted among NATO ruling circles," the newspaper concludes.

The fraternal countries' proposals on a substantial reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe are distinguished by realism and embody the desire to seek a mutually advantageous solution to the most complex international problems. Reflecting the renewal taking place in the socialist states, they open up prospects for building an all-European house in which relations between peoples would be based on equal security, trust, and good-neighborliness.

Soviet, U.S. Retired Admirals Interviewed

PM2507120388 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Interview with Rear Admiral E. Caroll (retired) and Rear Admiral A. Astafyev (retired) by correspondents A. Afanasyev and G. Charodeyev: "From Guardedness to Dialogue"; date and place not given—first three paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The second Soviet-U.S. conference of retired generals and admirals known for their speeches in favor of peace, disarmament, and the prevention of nuclear war has been held in Moscow.

A concluding document was adopted: It notes that nuclear weapons should be used for no military and political purposes and that the time has come for a radical reduction of strategic offensive armaments under the conditions of the conservation of the ABM Treaty, that is, the nonadmission of weapons in space. The generals and admirals believe that the limitation and then the total prohibition of nuclear tests and consolidation of the regime of nuclear weapons nonproliferation are essential. They supported the idea of major reductions of conventional arms and armed forces, restrictions on the sale of weapons to the developing countries, and confidence-building and glasnost measures in the military sphere.

IZVESTIYA correspondents asked participants in this meeting—Rear Admiral E. Caroll (retired), deputy director of the Defense Information Center, and Rear Admiral A. Astafyev (retired), deputy chairman of the Disarmament Commission of the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace—to comment on the meeting's results.

E. Caroll: We and our Soviet counterparts have many similar positions. I have in mind our common understanding of military policy problems, which enables us to come to sensible decisions. As we understand it, our task is to make our contribution to the relaxation of tension in the world.

A. Astafyev: I can add that the Moscow meeting discussed many aspects of the military policy of the USSR and the United States through the prism of the new thinking which is gradually blazing a trail.

When talk turned to the reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces the members of the U.S. delegation largely supported the Soviet viewpoint.

Next. We raised the question of the reduction of the NATO and Warsaw Pact naval forces and the restriction of their naval activity. But the Americans believe that this question must be linked to the reduction of conventional ground and air forces and view these questions in a package. Then we invited representatives of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. Like us, they doubt that reductions should be carried out "in a package."

Already, they said, we are failing to reach agreement on the reduction of conventional ground forces and air forces, and now there's the navy as well. And you cannot but agree with that.

We have frequently raised the question of the reduction of naval forces at various levels to the U.S. side. The U.S. Administration has failed to react in any way. Washington knows of its naval superiority. And that is evidently why it is displaying no initiatives.

E. Caroll: In recent years, NATO's position on a possible reduction of U.S. naval forces and the limitation of their activity has not changed. We do not view our naval forces as a special category subject to talks on reduction. I think that we will, nonetheless, reach a discussion of these problems some time. But how? We have different combat squadrons with aircraft carriers and well armed ships. They have tremendous power. Does that put you on your guard? But the Wasraw Pact has superiority in tanks, has a powerful artillery and large armies. That is an offensive threat to us. So we say: Let's pool these two problems and discuss them at the same time.

[IZVESTIYA] The military men of the two countries had an "image of the enemy" with regard to each other. How does this image "feel" under present conditions:

A. Astafyev: For our U.S. counterparts, it is in my view far more difficult to combat the "image of the enemy." Although... As soon as a general or admiral retires, he is no longer bound hand and foot by the official viewpoint. I recall meetings with NATO military leaders in Vienna. Once they told us of the fate of General Bastian, who signed a memorandum to his command with constructive proposals in the disarmament field. He was immediately dismissed. He probably also advocated dialogue with us. So I think that the transition from guardedness to dialogue is the start of the breaking down of stereotypes.

E. Caroll: First of all, close contacts between people are important in the struggle against negative stereotypes, at different levels. It turns out that even military men from countries with different social systems can sit down at the conference table and conduct a frank, comradely conversation. In the nuclear age, people can either destroy each other or come closer.

...The two rear admirals' dialogue was joined by a third, R. James:

At home I have access to the press in English and in particular to MOSCOW NEWS and PRAVDA, which are published in the United States, and to works by Sovietologists. They are all now asking with a single voice: "What is happening in the USSR?" Even without being an expert, I can understand that a broad discussion on various problems, including military problems, is under way in the country.

Arms reduction is an extremely necessary and difficult matter. People engaged in politics understand that the new thinking is a complete break with the past. And the majority are convinced that its success and the success of restructuring are also important to the United States.

In general, our contacts with Soviet servicemen, our discussion of questions connected with, for instance, arms reduction, and simple communication—all this would have happened far earlier, in the sixties, for instance. It is a pity that did not happen.

I personally do not have and never have had any stereotypes regarding the Russians. I want to say to all your newspaper's readers: Advance along the path of glasnost as far and as long as you can. There will be no progress in the arms control field without trust, and there will be no trust without glasnost.

...At the end of the discussion, a summing-up news conference was held for Soviet and foreign journalists. The participants in the Soviet-U S. conference left for Leningrad.

'Repercussions' Program on Regional Conflicts

LD2707014088 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 26 Jul 88

[The "Repercussions" program, presented by political observer Farid Seyful-Mulyukov, with the participation of Nikolay Vladimirovich Shishlin, Vsevolod Vladimirovich Ovchinnikov, and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh, none of whom are further identified, and Aleksey Mikhaylovich Vasilyev, deputy director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences—live]

[Excerpts] [Seyful-Mulyukov] Good evening, esteemed television viewers. We meet with you again in our television studio, where the live television program "Repercussions" is now starting.

The subject of today's broadcast is very topical: the settlement of regional conflicts. As you know, this problem was thoroughly discussed during the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow. As the very latest events show, here, in the planet's hotspots, real opportunities have arisen for resolving regional problems, for untying these taut knots by political means on the basis of a balance of interests.

At the 19th all-union party conference, it was noted that the axis of international life is shifting from confrontation toward cooperation, mutual understanding, toward talks with the prospect of achieving specific results, in the first place with respect to weapons of mass destruction.

The Geneva agreements and the continuing withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan have become an important international milestone in the political settlement of regional conflicts which are fraught with great danger for peace and impede the progress of the peoples.

Of course, the movement toward easing tension in hotspots, toward settling regional conflicts is a long, difficult process. But this movement has started, and it is taking place over a very wide front. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan have given rise to literally a chain reaction. Prospects have appeared for the cessation of the Iran-Iraq war, for a peaceful settlement in southwest Africa, for resolving the Cambodian problem. We will be talking about all this specifically, as applied to each hotspot, in our broadcast today, answering your questions.

Most of the participants in today's television program "Repercussions" are well known to you. They are: Nikolay Vladimirovic Shishlin, Vsevolod Vladimirovich Ovchinnikov, and Vitaliy Ivanovich Kobysh.

I shall also introduce Aleksey Mikhaylovich Vasilyev, deputy director of the Africa Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, who has a good knowledge not only the problems of this continent but also of the Near Eastern region where he worked for many years as a correspondent for the PRAVDA newspaper.

Esteemed television viewers, in order to facilitate your constant link with our studio, we have decided to use only one telephone number. Here it is: 217 45 43. This number has 12 channels, and I hope that you will be able to get in touch with our studio without special difficulties from any corner of our country.

And now let's get down to answering your questions. Our broadcast was announced beforehand on television and radio, and a few questions have already reached us in the studio.

A question for Comrade Shishlin. Nikolay Vladimirovich, you were a direct witness to the four Soviet-U.S. summits. The past years, as is known, were marked by acute confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union in many regions of the world. How could you evaluate now parallel operations or concerted actions of the two great powers in settling regional conflicts? Such is the essence of questions by many of our viewers. Over to you.

[Shishlin] Fine, thank you. But I think that it is eminently reasonable to state the fact that changes are taking place in the approach to regional conflicts, too. But both the USSR and the United States have undergone a fairly political evolution since the Geneva summit of autumn 1985. I recall that in Reykjavik, when this subject matter connected precisely with regional conflicts was discussed during the night—but this was not the main subject matter, because problems of a breakthrough toward major solutions on reducing armaments were the main subject matter—on the whole, the discussion was proceeding fairly slowly [vyazko]. Of course, few common points of view were traced clearly. It was more a case of stating differences in approaches to some or other regional conflicts. But already in Washington, it must be said, when these problems were discussed once again, perhaps for the first time precisely in Washington there was already a break with such a kind of logic of accusations and counteraccusations—who is most to blame—and there were attempts to decide whether, on the whole, parallel or joint actions by the Soviet Union and the United States, are possible, as the author of the question asks, in order to find a political settlement of regional conflicts. But the discussion of these questions in the Soviet Union, during the Moscow summit, was the most productive. And I think that, in my view, a few truths are becoming known here already.

First, all these regional conflicts are being perused, as it were, anew now. It is beginning to be seen, including in Washington, that the nature of regional conflicts does not reduce to a pure product of Soviet-U.S. confrontation. Each regional conflcit has its history, its roots, sometimes historical ones, sometimes national ones, etc. Often it is an echo of colonialism, an echo of the colonial past. And this first circumstance is fundamental.

The second fundamental circumstances is the fact that, of course, everyone understands that regional conflicts, the problems of settling them stand side by side with the problem of strengthening peace. Outside the resolution of the problems of regional conflicts, peace cannot be tranquil; peace cannot be harmonious; peace cannot be reliable. But...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] I think that it can be stated that just as it is impossible to win a nuclear war, it is, evidently, also impossible to win a regional war, as regional conflicts in many areas of the world have shown.

[Shishlin] Well, if one does not speak of such operations as the U.S. operation against Grenada.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Yes, well that was a one-off operation. Yes, yes.

[Shishlin] That was the U.S. major success then. What has been said does not of course mean that the United States has altogether given up its imperial policy and is now acting in angel's clothing in the international arena. No, we are still running into old thinking and into old approaches. All that is true. But, nevertheless, the new reading of regional conflicts is also to a certain extent a reality. By the way, this also came up at the scientific-practical conference now taking place in Moscow and which is being held by the Foreign Ministry; it is a very informative conference. Vsevolod also took part there and...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] And Aleksey Mikhaylovich, in my opinion, too.

[Shishlin] And Aleksey Mikhaylovich, in my opinion, yes. In the speech by Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, the idea was voiced which you have already expressed: that, indeed, some movement has become apparent literally in all hotspots, a movement with interruptions, a nervous movement. But...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] The ice has begun to break.

[Shishlin] But the horizons have cleared somewhat. Well, it seems that I have already been speaking for a long time. Let us give others the opportunity to speak.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Here is a question for Vsevolod Vladimirovich. Television viewers Varakina from Tashkent, Turkin from the town of Shuya in Ivanovo Oblast, and Ilyinykh from Sverdlovsk ask for a description of the military-political situation in Afghanistan at present. This is a problem which especially troubles us, Soviet people. Over to you, Vsevolod Vladimirovich.

[Ovchinnikov] Well, to put it very briefly, the most important fact for us is that the withdrawal of Soviet troops is continuing according to schedule. By 15 August, half of the Soviet troops, that is to say, 50,000 men, is to have returned home. Our obligation, according to the Geneva agreements, provides precisely on 15 August for 50 percent and 15 February for the completion. The withdrawal...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] I wish to add something. Today I rang our general staff, and I was told that already 25,000 Soviet soldiers and officers have been withdrawn from Afghanistan and that the process of the withdrawal is proceeding according to schedule.

[Ovchinnikov] Well, in 19 provinces and in Jalalabad, there are no longer any Soviet soldiers. If one speaks of the military situation, there are now no major battles, no major, large-scale military actions now. What is happening now one can call terrorist acts against the civilian population, first of all. This is precisely how one can evaluate, say, the periodic shellings of Kabul with self-propelled missiles. But the armed opposition boasted that literally a week after the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops, Jalalabad would be taken. Then these plans had to be revised.

[Shishlin] They said that on 1 June they would take Jalalabad.

[Ovchinnikov] The siege of the comparatively small town of Kalat lasted virtually an entire month. There, too, the armed members of the opposition suffered a defeat. That is to say, those who thought that they would quickly gain some military successes with the start of the withdrawal of Soviet troops have burnt their fingers in many respects. Actually, that which was clear has been confirmed: namely, that the armed formations as we now elegantly call the bands, are so far unable to conduct major operations against the towns and, so to speak, learning this at once is difficult, even though such attempts are being made now. A considerable number of foreign military instructors, including Pakistani ones...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] And Western ones...

[Ovchinnikov, continuing] ... And Western ones, yes, have now been noticed. These are obviously seeking precisely to raise this capability to conduct coordinated offensive operations in some way. Well, against this background, Pakistan's position is especially cynical. Recently it raised a hullabaloo. In particular, Ziaul Haq stated there that alllegedly the Soviet Union had called a halt to the withdrawal of its troops and that allegedly it is necessary to introduce troops. All this is being done precisely against the background of blatant violations by Pakistan of the Geneva agreements.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] By the way, a report has reached us that the White House and the State Department have refuted this statement by Ziaul Haq to the effect that we have called a halt to the withdrawal of our troops. This has just been reported by TASS.

[Ovchinnikov] But they said that they find it difficult to judge how right or wrong the president of Pakistan is. At all events, what is a fact is that the military training centers on Pakistan's territory continue operating, which is a patent violation of the letter of the Geneva accords. Also, the setting up on the territory of Pakistan of a so-called transitional government is, of course, a patent violation of the Geneva agreements. Ziaul Haq undoubtedly wants to put into power in Kabul people who are loyal to him. In this connection, the Peshawar Seven already no longer refer to some disagreements on the question of the Pakistani-Afghan border, so to speak, to the Durand line. The question is already of some confederation of Pakistan and Afghanistan....

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting]...On an Islamic fundamentalist basis.

[Cvchinnikov, continuing] ...On a fundamentalist basis. Recently the curious report slipped through that uranium is being mined on Afghan territory and is being exported to Pakistan.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] It was reported that it is being exported on donkeys and camels. On the whole, it is difficult to imagine how this can be done: export uranium ore on donkeys.

[Shishlin] Yes.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] [Words indistinct].

[Ovchinnikov] At any rate, these two facts are already enough to show that it is precisely Pakistan which is violating the Geneva agreements. Regarding the Kabul Government, it is indeed implementing a policy of national reconciliation, not in words but in actual facts. A parliament has been created. A government has been set up. I would call it an embryo of a coalition government with Dr Sharq at its head. This is a very influential figure. He was a minister under the king and a deputy premier under Daud. In this government, out of the 30 ministers, only 12 are NDPA members; all the others represent other sections of the population. Invitations have been addressed to the Peshawar Seven. For the time being, no one, not even the three moderate groupings, and even less the four irreconcileable ones, have given their consent. But it seems to me that the political dialogue with the so-called field commanders or the leaders of the internal armed opposition is perhaps more promising. It is actually these leaders who were bypassed by a considerable extent during the formation of the transitional government, and they state openly that during these many years, they directly waged the war. While for those entrenched in Peshawar, the war is an advantageous business, for the immediate leaders of the armed opposition inside the country, the war is indeed war; they feel the war weariness that the people and they themselves experience. For this reason, I think that if one can speak of the reserves and of the prospects for some agreements, this is mot probably precisely with the field commanders. This is how I would describe the military-political situation.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Questions of the same kind on Afghanistan have just come in here. When the Soviet troops leave Afghanistan, will this not lead to the destruction of the rule existing in Kabul? asks Zaslavskaya Albina, a student from Simferopol. An acute and, as they say, direct question. Couldn't you, so to speak, answer this question?

[Ovchinnikov] It is very difficult to say with any certainty that things will turn out in one particular way or another, you understand. At present, the PDPA is Afghanistan's major political force: The members of the party number 150,000-200,000. There are about 400,000 armed men, namely the Army and other government formations. The opposition has about 160,000 armed men, including 67,000 active men; the rest sit about the kishlaks. Of course, this sort of pure arithmetic is perhaps not applicable everywhere. But I have told you about these first shows of strength, when the Afghan Army independently defended and held the town. The combat capability of the Afghan Armed Forces will, of course, depend on the extent to which the PDPA manages to rally other left wing democratic forces and other parties around itself. Now, I think, there are no grounds for getting into a panic, although, of course, diverse variants are possible. A coalition on the bases currently being proposed by Kabul is possible. Coalition with these very same field commanders is possible, under some other, perhaps different and more compromising conditions. So, there are many options for development, as the saying goes.

[Vasilyev] Thank you. I recall a historical precedent which does not necessarily coincide in all respects with the Afghan situation but which did indeed take place: the civil war in North Yemen, and the involvement of the Egyptian expeditionary force which was sent there to help the republicans against the royalists. This force was withdrawn, but nevertheless, the republican regime in North Yemen was maintained and continued to develop. There can be no direct analogies of course, but we do know of such a historical precedent, so to speak, which applies to the Near East. Perhaps we can finish there. Oh, I beg your pardon: You wanted to say something.

[Shishlin] I wanted to say a few words as well, Aleksey Mikhaylovich. Essentially, we, nevertheless, still have as yet only a modest degree of experience of withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan but rather more experience of the national reconciliation policy. Some things have been successful, others not. These summer months, however, have, nevertheless, shown the stability of the current regime in Kabul; they have shown its strength. This does not mean that that regime cannot be subject to attacks from without and from within—all this will most likely occur. But I think that what

Vsevolod Vladimirovich said about the frustration of calculations that the Kabul regime would crumble as soon as the first Soviet men and officers left the country, is already a real fact. I think that when assessing the military and political situation in Afghanistan, it should be said that only two of the sides participating in the Geneva accords are scrupulously fulfilling the Geneva accords: namely, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan. All that about the uranium is most likely just fairy tales, pure fabrication; but that longer-range missiles have appeared...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] ...30km...

[Shishlin, continuing] ...Is no fairy tale at all.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Well, now, there are reports that the Kabul defense zone is being extended, in connection with the actions of the armed opposition.

To conclude this topic, so to speak, (Terekhin), a serviceman from Perm Oblast asks: Regarding the withdrawal of our troops from Afghanistan, what is being done for their security, to ensure that our soldiers should suffer as little as possible? I have chatted to our military men here in Moscow and in Afghanistan when I was there in April. Absolutely everything necessary is being done to ensure that our internationalist servicemen who performed their military duty there and who are returning home at the orders of the motherland may return alive and healthy to their near and dear ones.

Let us move on to another topic. A lot of questions have already come in on the Persian Gulf situation. Aleksey Mikhaylovich, our viewers (Klykov) from Moscow, (Yefremov) from Alushta, (Koshevnikova) from Volgograd, (Gorovenko) from Kiev, and others ask: What are the reasons which have led Tehran officially to recognize UN Security Council Resolution 598 on a settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict? You have been dealing with this problem for a long time. Would you like to answer?

[Vasilyev] I think the reasons which led Iran to take this step, which led Tehran to take this step, are the same as those which at one time led Iraq to engage in an active search for a peace settlement. The war has been going on for almost 8 years. [passage omitted] Both sides, both Iran and Iraq, have recognized this resolution. The main content of this resolution is a cease-fire and a withdrawal of troops to national borders. All in all, when we assess this war over the last 8 years, we can formulate it as follows: Both sides have lost the war. It is wholly unimportant that now one side, now the other, seizes a few hundred square kilometers of the other's territory—both sides have lost the war. Now, when light has appeared at the end of the tunnel, so to speak, a certain degree of restraint is required from both sides: The resolution has been adopted, high-ranking diplomats have been sent for negotiations in New York. But the military actions still go on; blood continues to flow. [passage omitted]

One fact puts one on one's guard. The United States took advantage of the war to send its naval armada into the Persian Gulf. Now, when concerted actions are required of two great powers, even just some sort of gesture which would confirm their aspiration towards a settlement, voices are resounding from the United States: U.S. Secretary for Defense Carlucci recently made this statement, that, as he put it, we do not intend to leave the Persian Gulf.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] He said that we want to keep the upper hand in the game there. [passage omitted]

[Vasilyev] It is possible, quite possible, that this is a sort of maximal position from which there will subsequently be a certain retreat, I would suppose. But a gesture on the part of the United States would be useful for a settlement.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned—I am finishing now, Vitaliy Ivanovich—our position has long been known and has on repeated occasions been confirmed. We have advocated a political settlement, and the efforts of Soviet diplomacy have been directed in this direction. I, therefore, think that this step, this decision, can only be welcomed in our country; we await specific steps after this. [passage omitted]

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Let us now turn to another region where a lot of problems have accumulated, too. Vitaliy Ivanovich, television viewer (Viktor Vasilyevich Korpukhin) asks us: What are the reasons for the difficulties standing in the way of a settlement in Central America, primarily in Nicaragua?

[Kobysh] One can explain very briefly, or one can try to explain all the roots and sources of everything taking place there. But we have little time. So, after what happened with Cuba—as you know, a revolution took place in Cuba, the people took power into its hands—and ever since then, the Americans, I mean the ruling class in the United States, is terribly frightened of everything happening in the Caribbean basin region. When the revolution took place 9 years ago in Nicaragua, all this was made out to be a Marxist plot, a communist revolution, and so on.

Although LE MONDE newspaper has just published an article by the writer Graham Greene which has been published in our country as well, in which he says that at least three ministers in the Nicaraguan Government are Catholic priests and that it is altogether a pluralist society in which there is an opposition and an opposition press, nevertheless, Washington has branded this society as Marxist and Communist. This means consequently that all actions are carried out in line with this assessment. War has been declared, a most obscene war, a dirty war because the people they call the contras are Somoza's people. Somoza reigned in Managua in Nicaragua under the aegis of Washington for 45 years, and his was a clan of criminals and crooks. When they were swept away, their guard and hirelings were left and now

are trying to turn back the course of events in Nicaragua and overthrow the revolutionary process with the help of the United States. All this is giving rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction, not only in Nicaragua and Central America, but throughout the world, especially in Western Europe: I would say, most of all, in Spain, France, and the countries of the Socialist International.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Washington is, in my opinion, continuing to step up its anti-Sandinist, anti-Nicaraguan course. Literally the other day, the CIA pushed into the post of the head of the so-called democratic opposition one of its own men, the former Somoza Colonel Bermudez. It is rejecting in every way Daniel Ortega's proposals for continuing dialogue and conducting negotiations in order to bring about a stabilization of the Central American situation.

[Kobysh] There is a logic here. The fact is that the Central American states, supported by the West European countries and the Socialist International, adopted the so-called Guatemalan agreement, which is paving the way to peace in Central America.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] A year ago.

[Kobysh] A year ago. Throughout the whole of this year, Washington has been trying to wreck this agreement. Now we have a new move, a new attempt to undermine the Sandinist regime in Nicaragua. A plot was organized, directed by the U.S. ambassador, and the Nicaraguan Government had no option but to proclaim this ambassador and a number of diplomats personas non-gratas. This was presented as an anti-U.S. step, and so this wave of anti-Nicaraguan feeling was stirred up once again. The contras sprang up right away, and so did further subsidies to the contras, and to Bermudez who, during Somoza's time, was one of the main users of force and one of the chief murderers. Incidentally, a great many people forget about this, about what the Somoza regime got up to, and this was quite recently, you know. Bermudez has been declared commander in chief of the contra forces. He now is being given $47 million for the struggle against the Sandinist regime. This is a dirty war, no less dirty than Vietnam. It is insulting to Latin America, and it seems that the Americans are sowing seeds the shoots of which will be very, very unpleasant for them.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you, Gennadiy. An interesting question has been put here, again on Afghanistan, the subject that concerns us most of all. I would like you to answer.

[Shishlin] This comrade asks...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] Let us have the surname, so that...

[Shishlin, continuing] Of course, I'd like to do that right now: It is (Bogomazov, Roman Sergeyevich), from Moscow, a salesman. He asks: Will the military servicemen—well, that is, saying it twice, but never mind, that is how the question is put—who are in captivity now be considered traitors to their homeland? Some of them were taken captive when they were badly wounded, and so on. Is the question understood?

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Yes.

[Shishlin] The second question is: What is the situation now on our prisoners of war missing in Afghanistan?

In the first place, of course, none of our comrades who were captured and are returning home will be considered traitor to their homeland. There has been a perfectly clear statement about this, and our country is making every possible effort to get our boys home. Incidentally, the public, including in the United States, is doing us a service. Incidentally, we are being given great support by an artist, (Shemyakin), who emigrated from our country through certain circumstances in which he was in no way completely guilty.

It is believed now that there are 311 of our boys in captivity, but those contacts that have been made through diplomatic and public channels unfortunately have not yet yielded any tangible results. We get rather gloomy information that, perhaps, many of these 311 are no longer alive. Anyway, the Red Cross has been set in motion, as well as our governmental bodies and Soviet public organizations. Without doubt, this is for us one of the most disturbing and painful questions toward which the unremitting attention of the competent Soviet institutions is directed.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. There are a number of questions concerning an article published in the latest issue of the OGONEK magazine—rather, an interview with Kim Makedonovich Tsaglov, the head of a department at the Frunze Military Academy. An appraisal is requested of this material, which is of a very acute and, I would even say, sensational nature. Well, I believe—my personal point of view—that it is too early to make any historical conclusions or appraisals on the processes taking place in Afghanistan. The time has not yet come for this. I know Kim Makedonovich Tsaglov very well; he took part in one of our "Repercussions" broadcasts, and I remember how in reply to one question put by viewers as to how many sacrifices we have made on Afghanistan, Comrade Tsaglov said it is not for us to publish such information. Phone calls and letters of protest followed, but that is not the point: Glasnost, including with regard to Afghanistan and other processes, is a dialectic concept; it is developing every day and every year; we shall learn much more about our past, and, so to speak, eliminate the white spots in our history, and...

[Vasilyev, interrupting] Including in foreign policy?

[Seyful-Mulyukov] In foreign policy, too, yes.

[Ovchinnikov] Yes. Now, partly in connection with this question, I think that clearly a constitutional mechanism is needed when settling such questions as the use of military

force outside one's national borders, that's clear; but I would just like to recall that in combining the ideas of international solidarity and protecting national security, there have been such precedents, say, the beginning of the seventies in Bangladesh, the struggle of the people of East Pakistan. India rendered them military support so that they would win national independence. [passage omitted]

[Seyful-Mulyukov] You have some questions there on the Cambodian problem which we have not yet touched upon, so I would like to ask you, Vsevolod Vladimirovich, to answer briefly, please.

[Ovchinnikov] Yes, well, Comrade (Rosaney) from Moscow asks us to comment on Hun Sen's new initiative on settling the Cambodian question. Well, in this instance, comrades, we have the rare opportunity in this broadcast to comment hot on the heels of events. Yesterday, in the Indonesian town of Bogor, 30 km from Djakarta, a meeting opened. At the first stage of this meeting, opinions of representatives of the four Cambodian sides are being exchanged, that is, opinions of the government in Phnom Penh and the three opposing Khmer groupings. After they have discussed the internal aspects of the Cambodian problem, they will be joined by Vietnam, Thailand, Laos and other ASEAN countries to discuss the external aspects of a Cambodian settlement. An accord on such an informal meeting was reached last year by Vietnam and Indonesia; that, so to speak, was their contribution to solving the Cambodian problem. True, such a constructive step by Vietnam as the decision to speed up the withdrawal of troops—you know that they announced that half, 50,000 men, will go back home this year, and the command of the Vietnamese volunteers has already returned home. This question, this accelerated withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteers, unexpectedly caused apprehension: Wouldn't the Pol Pot-ites take advantage of this in order to recapture power in Cambodia?

And when Shultz traveled around Southeast Asia—and he was in Japan, and so on—he discussed this question: How can guarantees that this would not happen be created? But as far as Phnom Penh and Hanoi are concerned, apart from the Pol Pot leadership, this political force could take part in a national reconciliation, but only as a political and not a military force. Shortly before the meeting in Bogor, Sihanouk suddenly announced his resignation from this antigovernment coalition. Well, the resignation gave rise to all sorts of comment; evidently, he simply wanted to untie his hands. This version is now being confirmed because Sihanouk, like a grand piano which has accidentally found itself in the bushes, now found himself in Indonesia, true, not in Bogor but in Jakarta. And, so to speak, he is taking part in these talks at a distance.

The meeting in Bogor began successfully. Literally just before coming here, I read a report that on the Cambodian side, Prime Minister Hun Sen had put forward an important seven-point proposal. One of the points consists of setting up a council of national reconciliation headed by Sihanouk, and all three-four groupings have already agreed that they will hold talks with Sihanouk in Jakarta on this question. And then, Phnom Penh said, expressed Vietnam's readiness [as heard] to speed up the withdrawal of volunteers and to complete the withdrawal not in 1990 but at the end of 1989.

Among Hun Sen's proposals there figures a clause on setting up an internal commission to observe the accord's fulfillment, as well as a proposal to convene an international conference on a political settlement in Cambodia, in which the ASEAN countries would take part. This conference would naturally include Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos; permanent members of the Security Council; the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement; the UN secretary general; and other countries contributing to the strengthening of peace in Southeast Asia. This is being seen as a curtsy to Japan, which wants very much to take part in this conference and which has even expressed readiness to pay all the expenses of the international peace-keeping forces...

[Shishlin, interrupting] And perhaps India, too.

[Ovchinnikov] India, and the leadership of the Nonaligned conference are also making similar efforts, in particular, one may refer to the meeting in Harare.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] As far as Japan is concerned, is this obviously looking toward the future, for the development of economic ties with Indochina?

[Ovchinnikov] Japan wants very much to make use of a political settlement in Cambodia as a kind of bridge to Southeast Asia in order to seize advantageous economic positions, and in general, to elevate its international role as an active participant in a political settlement.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] But what is China's position on this? ask many viewers. Would you like to answer?

[Ovchinnikov] I think that China's position...

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] You were in China recently?

[Ovchinnikov] China has undoubtedly played a definite, positive role. I think that without China's consent, the Khieu Samphan—that is, the Pol Pot grouping—would hardly have gone to Indonesia, sat at the conference table, and taken part in the quadripartite talks. I believe that China could have played a much bigger role in a political settlement in Southeast Asia. In particular, a big part would have been played here by direct talks between China and Vietnam. This would have been very good for the two sides bilaterally and would have been a great contribution to a settlement of the Cambodian problem.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Incidentally, they believe in the West—I have read a lot of information over these last few days—that a settlement to the Cambodian problem could clear the way to a Soviet-Chinese summit. That is one of the obstacles....

[Shishlin, interrupting] That's what the Chinese are saying.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Yes, the Chinese are saying that.

[Ovchinnikov] Incidentally, I was in China recently and three people, one after the other, when I jokingly said...well, they said: When are you coming to see us again? And I said: I am coming to cover the summit meeting. These three people said to me: By the way, that's our idea; this is what Deng Xiaoping proposed, a summit. But he said he needed to prepare for it, and, in particular, he enumerated the conditions. Now they are saying that the one question which must be settled before a meeting is some kind of cardinal change in a settlement of the Cambodian problem. [passage omitted]

Let's take the end of the Iran-Iraq war and the settlement in Afghanistan. It is no secret that the Afghan irredentists are ideologically drawn, of course, to the Iran of Khomeyni, and the fact that...

[Seyful-Mukyukov, interrupting] Fundamentalists, as they are more accurately called.

[Ovchinnikov] Yes, fundamentalists. While Iran was strongly bound up in that war with Iraq which exhausted all its strength, the appeals for help may not have received any special response. Will that be so in the future?

[Shishlin] I'm sorry, but after all, we must state at the outset that there is no peace between Iran and Iraq [words indistinct] negotiations. God grant, as they say, that a cease-fire will be achieved.

[Kobysh] [Passage omitted] Anna Nikolayevna Mikhaylova from Kazan, a teacher, asks: What are the prospects for Soviet-U.S. relations after Reagan goes? That is the question which presently is most racking the brains of all of the political scientists in the United States, and not only in that country. To say that I could give a straight reply to this would be somewhat presumptuous, because Bush, the Republican candidate, copies Reagan in everything and, it would seem, does it well. But will he be able to copy Reagan when he stands alone? Dukakis at present is the Democratic Party candidate. He is considered a liberal. He has very left-wing slogans and so forth compared to Bush. But in U.S. conditions, this in general is not very highly rated because U.S. reality is such that liberals in the United States very rapidly become conservatives, and it is precisely those who are the most dangerous. They try to prove that they are strong, that they are against the Soviet Union, against Communism, that they intend to maintain U.S. military power at the proper level. I am not saying that this applies to Dukakis; perhaps he will behave differently. But it has been like that so far. For this reason, nobody can now say anything precise. At present Dukakis' chances are greater than Bush's.

I think that nothing of principle will change because fundamentals serious agreements have been reached between the Soviet Union and the United States. First and foremost, we have the INF Treaty; then there is the coming treaty on strategic offensive weapons. In general there are also accords on many other problems. This has created a new situation. Obviously, whoever comes to power will not be able to get away from that.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Do you have any other interesting questions, Nikolay Vladimirovich?

[Shishlin] I don't know about interesting; they are hard questions, hard in their content, not because it is difficult to answer them. In particular, (Vasiliy Petrovich Milikov) did not understand you fully. We are not hiding the number of our boys who died in Afghanistan, and nobody is evading an answer: Over 13,000 people died, over 13,000. And there were over 35,000 wounded. As I have already said, there are 311 prisoners and approximately the same number missing.

Here is a question which indeed is probably going to be difficult to answer: What was the process of making the decision to send the troops into Afghanistan 8 years ago?

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Nine.

[Shishlin] Well, that's not important, 1 year more or less, although it is also important. At what level was that question decided? Who took part in discussing it? Nothing has been said about that so far. One thing is clear: The decision itself to send in the troops was made without sufficiently analyzing the situation in Afghanistan, without sufficiently analyzing the consequences of such a decision. Of course, it was clearly made by an extremely narrow circle of persons, as even some Politburo members, as a matter of fact, were faced with a fait accompli, as is known. For this reason, the problem was posed so sharply at the 19th party conference. Vsevolod Vladimirovich has already mentioned the need for certain forms, strictly laid out by the Constitution, of adopting such dramatic decisions.

[Seyful-Mukyukov] At the scientific-practical conference of the Foreign Ministry, the creation of a state based on respect for the law, ensuring decisions based on law not only in internal but also in foreign policy matters was mentioned.

[Shishlin] Of course, and it gives a certain gaurantee to more exposure, more accuracy in decision-making. It seems to me that the comrades who made such a dramatic decision did not think too much about the consequences of such a decision. In my view, they had not even read the article by Engels in the great British encyclopaedia—it contains some very interesting thoughts, on precisely the subject of Afghanistan and Afghan affairs.

[Vasilyev] I would like to add, it was not just the Engels article: If they had only opened even the military encyclopaedia of the twenties to the entry Afghanistan, there are a great deal of forecasts in it.

[Shishlin] Yes, just to have an idea of that country: the mountains, the narrow gorges. One thing is clear. Of course we do not need a single inch of Afghan soil, not a single bit of Afghan soil. But this, of course, does not justify such a way of making the decision, such a form of making the decision. The aims may be noble, but aims and methods must correspond. [passage omitted]

[Kobysh] We are usually in a state of confrontation with the United States. I must cite an instance where the United States and we are in full agreement, and that is when we meet on the question of the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. We have no differences on this. We have absolutely identical standpoints. They, like we, want this business to be as effectively localized as possible. [passage omitted]

[Ovchinnikov] Comrade Koltsov from Kostroma asks why it it that when people talk about Afghanistan they keep quiet about China's role? Well, what can be said about China's attitude to the Afghan problem? China welcomes the withdrawal of Soviet trops. It is not expressing a view; it is keeping quiet about the future political regime in Afghanistan and is continuing to help the enemies of the Kabul Government, as it has for all these past 9 years. [passage omitted]

[Seyful-Mulyukov, interrupting] Vsevolod Vladimirovich, let us be very brief, we literally have 1 and ½ minutes left.

[Vasilyev] Well, without even naming the viewers, they ask what is taking place in the south of Africa? Cuban troops are in Angola. They were sent there to defend Angola against the South African troops which occupy a part of Angola. The RSA occupies Namibia as well. It is the last, at any rate the last large colony in the world, I mean, at any rate, in Africa. So, I mean, on the one hand, we have Angola and the United States, which to some extent renders practical aid to the RSA. After almost 10 years of conflict, the sides have at long last decided to meet each other. It is a step in the right direction. Personally, I viewed their agreement with cautious optimism. Several meetings have taken place, but there is now no time to describe everything; they agreed upon the settlement principles. What do these boil down to? The RSA is to withdraw its troops from Angola and extends independence to Namibia. For their part, gradually the Cuban troops will, to begin with, redeploy themselves to the north and will subsequently leave Angola.

Well, one can say that this is a step in the right direction. The conflict in the south of Africa is a complex and many-sided one. The question of apartheid in the RSA itself remains unsolved—and this is foremost. The question also arises how seriously does the RSA intend to carry out the obligations that have been undertaken? No concrete agreement has, as yet, been reached. Only the principles have been worked out. This is, however, a movement in the right direction.

[Kobysh] (Aleksey Fedorovich Shchekin), an engineer from (?Daugavpils) asks us the following: Are there any facts confirming that the United States did not want our troops to withdraw from Afghanistan, that they wanted the conflict to drag on, and that they were rubbing their hands over it? There are such facts. The fact that Pakistan is now hindering the fulfillment of the Geneva accords is, of course, being done under pressure from Washington, with the direct knowledge of Washington. The United States does not want us to have a normal settlement of the situation, to get out of Afghanistan.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Nikolay Vladimirovich?

[Shishlin] Very briefly, so as to lift the reproaches, how many Soviet ships are there in the Persian Gulf region? There is not a permanent number of our ships there. Usually not more than four vessels guard convoys. One more question from Saratov, from the Volga. Will there be continuity in U.S. foreign policy after the change of administration, and in particular, what will be Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's influence and prestige in the United States on that continuity? I think that the last summit meeting laid a good basis here for continuing dialogue with the new U.S. Administration, irrespective of whether it is Democrat or Republican. As for the influence and prestige of Mikhail Sergeyevich, and the influence and prestige of Soviet perestroyka, it is of a constantly growing magnitide. The latest public opinion poll shows that 80 percent of Americans positively view our country's foreign policy and Comrade Gorbachev's role.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Thank you. Dear viewers, here we end our program. Unfortunately we were unable to reply to all your questions, but in our subsequent programs, we will try to do so. Thank you for watching, and thank you, dear participants in the program, for replying to our viewers' questions. Goodbye, comrades.

United States & Canada

U.S. Differs With Ziaul Haq on Afghanistan

LD2607131888 Moscow TASS in English 1208 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Washington July 26 TASS—The White House and the U.S. State Department have dissociated themselves from claims by Pakistani President Ziaul Haq to the effect that the Soviet Union has reversed its troop withdrawal from Afghanistan and even sent an extra 10,000 troops to Kabul.

The President's assistant for press relations, Marlin Fitzwater, said at a regular briefing in the White House they understood that the Soviet troop pullout was continuing and they had no indications that there had been a reversal.

He said they had asked the Soviet Union to try and withdraw half of the troops by August 15 but did not know whether it would be able to do that.

However, Fitzwater added, they could see nothing to suggest that the Soviet Union wouldn't follow that course.

Charles Redman, official spokesman for the State Department, said at a briefing there that there was no evidence to support claims that the Soviet Union had returned troops to Afghanistan.

He said August 15 was the first date for checking the fulfilment of the Afghanistan agreements and suggested waiting till then.

Asked if that meant that America did not believe President Ziaul Haq, the spokesman said that was not a matter of believing or not believing as he did not know for sure where Ziaul Haq had gotten this information.

Daily Assesses U.S. Democratic Convention

PM2607113588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "End of Race Unpredictable"]

[Text] New York, 24 Jul—The past 4 days in Atlanta, full of fanfare, roars of approval for "their man," mocking whoops during endless attacks on the Republicans, and bursts of fireworks following M. Dukakis' nomination, have concluded. The jam-packed Omni Coliseum had housed a multifaceted, motley, and noisy America: labor union activists, New York Jews in caps, mothers with babes-in-arms, gray-haired senators, veterans of the civil rights movement in the southern United States, and quite young farmers at their first-ever party convention.

Of course, not all of America was here. Richer America will assemble next month in New Orleans at the Republican Convention. Also not in attendance were those who throughout the last few days had seemed to be sleeping soundly, despite the intolerable heat, right in the square near my hotel—the homeless and the unemployed about whom a great deal was said in the convention hall. Alongside the complex where the convention was held were permanent demonstrations by people who had no seats in the Omni Coliseum: activists of the American Indian movement and the "New Alliance" Party, which has nominated the black American woman L. Folani [name as published] for president—the first independent candidate in recent decades whose name has been registered on the ballot in all 50 states. Understandably, these people did not try to enter the convention auditorium. In American life, there is always this indestructible desire to break out of the fetters of the two-party system, but it is impossible to achieve a share of real power under U.S. conditions by so doing.

This ultimately lies at the bottom of the compromise between the movement headed by the black preacher J. Jackson and the other Democrats. The only hope of improving the situation of Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition"—of whites, blacks, and the colored poor and underprivileged—lies with the election of the Democratic candidate. Continued rule by the Republicans promises them only new privation.

And yet, Jackson's supporters, despite the new party leaders' persistent calls for unity, will be following the progress of Dukakis and Bentsen as closely as possible in the days left before the November election. What does Dukakis' choice of the conservative Bentsen as his running mate indicate? Is this a tactical move designed to indulge the conservative Democrats who voted for Reagan in the last two presidential campaigns? Or, is it the start of Dukakis' long drift away from the liberal wing to his party's conservative wing?

Here is something else that was considered during the Democratic Convention. We are often reproached on the grounds that a one-party system does not make for genuine democracy. However, in this sense a comparison between our 19th party conference and the convention that just concluded in Atlanta is clearly not to the latter's advantage. We had a serious and highly trenchant discussion of the fundamental problems of the country's political and economic development against a backdrop of impartial criticism of leaders. However, in Atlanta, there was total sweetness and light, with not even a single half-criticism of Dukakis.

In conclusion, it can be said that the Democrats this time do have a chance of winning. Their chances have not been so good since 1976, when J. Carter was elected by a small majority. But whether the echoes of the fireworks display held on the closing day of the convention will last until the presidential election on 8 November remains to be seen.

Jesse Jackson's Role Reviewed

PM2606154088 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 26 Jul 88 p 7

[APN and SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent Edgar Cheporov "Letter From Atlanta": "Actions Are More Important Than Words"]

[Text] The nomination of Michael Dukakis for the post of president from the Democratic Party was predetermined—he collected more votes than his rivals in the primary elections. The appointment of Senator Lloyd Bentsen for the post of vice president was also predetermined. Does this mean that the Democrats' preelection congress, or, as they call it here, convention, was a mere formality? No, of course not.

Together with my correspondent's pass I received a leaflet giving information in question-and-answer form about the accreditation of journalists. It was on one typewritten page, but there was no room for the last question. It was printed not in a column, like all the others, but from side to side. The answer followed: This approach testifies to the "Democrats' skill in managing, their respectful attitude to federal funds, and reluctance to waste them." Some 13,500 journalists were present at the convention. And that is the number of pages that were saved.

Naturally, the Democrats wanted to draw the country's attention to the convention and please the future voters. But at the same time they set a course of ensuring that the convention ran as smoothly as possible, without fierce struggles or clashes of opinions. And they succeeded. But nobody can say yet whether they lost or won as a result.

The only serious factor that made its mark on the entire election campaign was the situation regarding Jesse Jackson. But even this problem was lifted, although this happened a few hours before the convention opened. In the primary elections Jackson was second to Dukakis in the number of votes collected, and could apparently claim the post of vice president. But nobody thought so, and nobody, Jackson himself included, believed it. In the corridors at the convention I talked with Robert Eisenberg, a university professor in Omaha, Nebraska, about this.

"Dukakis," he told me, "knew that the majority of Americans will not vote for a politician who decides to choose as his running mate a woman, as happened with Ferraro at the last elections, or a black. The Americans are not psychologically ready for this step. Dukakis knew this, and did not want to experiment." Nor, let me point out, did Dukakis want to tell Jackson that his choice for vice president—Lloyd Bentsen—had already been made. Jackson learned of this event from a reporter. A reader's letter to the newspaper ATLANTA CONSTITUTION from D. Noonan [as published] in Brookline, Dukakis' home town: "If Dukakis acted like that to a man whom he himself admits he respects, you can imagine how he will behave as president with those whom he rejects."

Jackson's success in the primaries confounded the predictions of many skeptics. The breadth of his program, his consistency in defending it, and his brilliant oratorical talent recruited more and more supporters. In domestic policy Jackson called for the development of social programs and increased taxation of the rich. In foreign policy he proposed improving relations with the USSR, supporting the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, and disbanding the organizational structure of SDI, while continuing research work in that sphere. Jackson is in favor of reducing military spending and refusing to adopt the MX ICBM, Midgetman, and a number of others. He was the only contender to demand that the United States proclaim its renunciation of the first nuclear strike and support the Palestinians' right to create their own sovereign state.

Black Americans and white "liberals" voted for Jackson. His populist slogans met certain underlying needs that were disregarded by social psychologists—the Americans' disillusionment with the moral guidelines of the era of Reaganism and the return to the half-forgotten ideals of Roosevelt's "New Deal." But the same slogans turned the American middle class against him, those who saw Jackson's rise as detrimental to Dukakis. Jackson not only gathered new recruits to the Democrats' standard, he also polarized the party. In the convention auditorium I approached a black wearing a badge saying "I vote for Jackson"—Laurence Jeffries, delegate from Maryland, a municipality worker.

"Why do you support Jackson?"

"He gave us a future. He has his own approach to the budget, the problems of the family and education. We have been waiting for a leader like that for a long time. Listen to his speech—he tells the truth. Jesse will bring the Democratic Party victory."

Michael Aygou [as published], a delegate from Ohio, was standing five paces from Laurence Jeffries. On his lapel was a badge: "I like Michael Dukakis."

"Why do you like Dukakis?"

"Because he has a chance of becoming president."

"What gave him that chance?"

"As governor, he has proved that he knows how to manage. He is a fine manager."

"Does Jackson have a chance?"

"No. Jackson has no administrative experience. He has done nothing to prove he is capable of coping with America's difficult problems. No, he would not be elected president...."

These assessments are characteristic of today's Democrats. What is Jackson's own position? It is reported that Jackson, Dukakis, and Bentsen met before the start of the convention. Jackson was told: "A difficult election campaign lies ahead. Winning it will take efforts from all three of us. Each of us could spoil the whole job. And we will all be to blame." Jackson decided to renounce confrontation at the convention, to renounce it, as he later explained, "for the sake of unity and victory." Thus a strange triumvirate was created, a combination unique in American politics. Jackson formally holds no post in it, but he must be reckoned with or votes will be lost.

Many people here assess Dukakis' choice of Lloyd Bentsen as a subtle and bold tactical move. The presidential candidate has chosen as his running mate someone who has different views and a different way of life in many respects. Bentsen is in favor of aid to the Nicaraguan contras; Dukakis is against that policy. Bentsen is known as a supporter of Reagan's law on reducing taxation of the rich; Dukakis has always asserted that this law caused the federl budget deficit. Bentsen is against controls on weapons sales; Dukakis favors them. There are many other differences between the conservative Bentsen and the "liberal" Dukakis. One of them drives a luxurious "Lincoln"; the other owns an inexpensive "Dodge," or even travels to work by subway. One plays poker well and once won a house from his rival; the other passes his time reading.

Dukakis and Bentsen came together not because they have differences, but as a result of them. Dukakis needed a conservative like Bentsen. He needed him to balance his own reputation as a "liberal." Dukakis was very unwilling to allow this label to stick, especially after the convention. His key position at present is that "the elections test not a certain ideology, but competence," the ability to manage.

As time goes on, Dukakis is more and more markedly giving preference to wishy-washy positions that are subject to interpretations from the left and the right. This approach affected the Democrats' election platform too. Jesse Jackson had 13 points on which he differed from Dukakis. He dropped 10 of them "by a gentlemen's agreement" with the presidential and vice presidential candidates. The others, the most urgent, concerned increasing taxation of the rich, renouncing the first nuclear strike, and supporting self-determination for the Palestinians. The result: The final version does not contain a word about taxes, the amendment was dropped. The same fate befell the amendments on the first nuclear strike and the Palestinians.

The problem of the first strike concerns us directly. The amendment said that after consultations with its allies the United States should adopt a policy of renouncing a first nuclear strike, and that the United States should state clearly that its sole aim is to prevent a nuclear attack on America and its allies. The first-strike doctrine, it said, promotes the creation of weapons designed to carry out such a strike. I spoke with Robert Nelson, a delegate from California, who supported this amendment and spoke in its defense from the convention platform.

"I think many Americans will be indignant to learn that the use of nuclear weapons is a part of our strategy in conventional war."

Senator Sam Nunn, one of the party's main military experts and chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, has an entirely different view.

"Renouncing the first nuclear strike with tactical weapons," he believes, "will put our European allies in jeopardy. The allies will not forgive us that...."

The Atlanta convention ended in a major key. But all predictions agree that the struggle for the White House will be tough, and the majority minimal.

Kornilov Replies to VOA Chief Carlson

LD2607190588 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1520 GMT 26 Jul 88

["TASS Observer on Letter From Director of 'Voice of America': Where Is Mr Carlson Seeking 'Blank Spots?'"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Jul (TASS)—Political observer Yuriy Kornilov writes:

Mr Richard V. Carlson, director of the "Voice of America," is not satisfied. He sent an official letter to TASS protesting my appraisal of one of the radio station's broadcasts devoted to the problem of international terrorism, in which it was alleged that numerous acts of terror taking place in Pakistan are incited by the "Kabul regime" with Soviet support.

A commentary distributed by TASS channels on 16 July pointed out that such malicious fabrications have the aim of not only casting a shadow over the peace-loving foreign policy course of Kabul and Moscow—a course that consistently advocates the earliest possible settlement of the Afghan problem—but are also designed to distract public attention from the question of the true causes and sources of terrorism, which is becoming more and more important and topical. Incidentally, it continued, these causes do not constitute a secret: International terrorism was born and is growing primarily because nourishing soil is created for it by the reliance on force and Washington's policy of neoglobalism, the architects of which regard virtually the whole planet as a sphere of "U.S. vital interests."

Without offering any serious analysis of the essence of these pronouncements, Mr Carlson takes pains to emphasize that the VOA broadcast in question was based on information from the U.S. Department of State. The concealed meaning seems to be the following:

How dare a Soviet observer criticize such a program, especially at a time when Moscow and Washington are making efforts to eliminate "blank spots" in their foreign political propaganda....

There is no need to question the fact that the VOA broadcast on international terrorism was really based on research carried out by the U.S. foreign policy administration—the TASS comment, by the way, also mentions this—but what follows from this? Given all my respect for the U.S. Department of State, is this administration a kind of oracle above criticism, one that delivers nothing but the ultimate truth?

No, it is not so. On the contrary, numerous facts show that it is precisely the U.S. Department of State, in the depths of which the concept of neoglobalism was worked out in tandem with the Pentagon and the CIA, that has played—and continues to play—the role of some propaganda center that without reason seeks to justify the dangerous concept that the United States has a "right" to impose rules to Washington's liking wherever possible, by using force, bayonets, and bombs, whether through mercenaries or voluntary accomplices. Who else, if not the U.S. Department of State, was among the organizers of the undeclared war against sovereign Nicaragua, the invasion of Grenada, the and bombing of Libya? Who else, if not the Department of State, today comes out, albeit indirectly, in support of those circles and forces in Pakistan that in every possible way oppose the implementation of the provisions of the "Gevena package" and that organize new acts of terror and sabotage against the Afghan people? Has the public forgotten the stand of the Department of State during the first days after a U.S. warship downed an Iranian civilian airliner over the Persian Gulf, thus killing nearly 300 innocent people? It is precisely the Department of State (though not it alone) that then attempted through various and, one must add, very awkward tricks to prove unprovable things: that anyone but the United States was guilty of the destruction of the aircraft....

The "Voice of America," the heads of which, to judge by Mr R. Carlson's letter, are pretty well ready to prostrate themselves before any document coming from the Washington "heights," and to broadcast them over the airwaves with an enthusiasm worthy of better employment, without subjecting them to the least type of doubt, let alone critical analysis. Well, this position is of course natural in its own way for the radio station. This is because the "Voice of America," I am convinced, is actually by no means the voice of the U.S. public, which favors objectivity and a lack of bias in the exchange of information. It is instead the mouthpiece of official and quite specific Washington circles. Let us clearly state, however, that whatever powerful modern technology this "voice" may possess, even it does not have the power to turn acts of aggression and terror into "missions of friendship and the defense of the independence of peoples," or terrorist mercenaries into "freedom fighters." A forgery from whatever highly-placed source the "Voice of America" received it remains a forgery, no matter how often you trundle it out over the air....

In this context, there is hardly any need for a commentary on Mr Carlson's passage about "blank spots," the sense of which boils down to it allegedly being essential to set up the kind of exchange of information in which there would be no room for innuendos, concealment, or the distortion of facts. We really are in favor of objectivity and honesty being the main criteria, but as you very well know, Mr Carlson, it takes two to tango....

China

Wu Xiuquan-Led Delegation Visits Yalta

OW2607162088 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] The delegation of the Chinese People's Association for Friendship With Foreign Countries and of the China-USSR Friendship Association is currently visiting the Soviet Union. The delegation is led by Wu Xiuquan, president of the China-USSR Friendship Association and a renowned figure in state and international affairs. After concluding their visit to Moscow, Leningrad, and Riga, the Chinese guests traveled to the Black Sea resort city of Yalta.

(Simintuke), chairman of the Yalta City Executive Committee, met with the delegation. He briefed them on the work to provide recreation for Soviet people visiting Yalta, as well as the future development plan of the resort city. Each year, some 2 million people come here to relax, including tourists from more than 100 countries. The Chinese guests visited sanatoriums, rest houses, and gymnasiums. They also visited the house museum of the famous Russian writer Chekov in Yalta and the (Arjieke) international (?youth) camp, in addition to going on a sea tour to enjoy the beautiful scenery along the coast of the Crimean Peninsula.

Trade Union Delegation Ends Alma-Ata Visit

PM2607115188 Moscow TRUD in Russian 26 Jul 88 p 1

[Unattributed TASS correspondent dispatch: "Developing Cooperation"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 25 Jul—A delegation from the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by Wang Xun, secretary of its secretariat, has ended its visit to the Kazakh capital. The delegation is in our country at the invitation of the AUCCTU to familiarize itself with the activity of Soviet trade unions under the conditions of restructuring.

The PRC trade union officials saw for themselves the changes taking place in all spheres of the republic's life. They gave special attention to the experience in solving the housing problem in Kazakhstan and protecting the

interests of working people. During conversations at the Kazakh Trade Union Council, they touched on questions of strengthening contacts between Soviet and Chinese trade unions.

The building of socialism in each of our countries has its own specific features, the head of the delegation told a TASS correspondent. We managed to exchange the experience we have accumulated concerning reforms and restructuring in the PRC and the USSR. We have thus taken yet another step forward along the path of expanding cooperation.

The delegation visited a number of Alma-Ata enterprises where it studied the solution of economic and social problems, the organization of workers' vocational training, and the role of trade union organizations in improving the economic mechanism and stepping up working people's participation in production management.

Meets With Shalayev in Moscow

LD2607134788 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] A delegation of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions headed by its secretary, Wang Xun, which was in the USSR from 11-25 July at the invitation of the AUCCTU, has been received in Moscow by AUCCTU Chairman Shalayev. In the conversation, which passed off in a warm and friendly atmosphere, the sides exchanged experience and views on the questions of improving the activities of trade unions at the present stage of restructuring society and of the economic reform being carried out in the USSR and China. They also exchanged views on ways to develop and improve cooperation between Soviet and Chinese trade unions. The delegation visited Leningrad, Riga, and Alma-Ata; toured industrial and agricultural enterprises; familiarized itself with cultural facilities and historic and revolutionary monuments; and visited trade union health resorts.

PRC Law Delegation Completes Talks in Kiev

PM2607145388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Arrival"]

[Text] Kiev, 22 Jul—A delegation from the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC] Law Commission headed by Song Rufen, deputy chairman of the commission, has now been touring the Ukrainian capital for 3 days.

During a conversation at the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, the guests were familiarized with its activity in expanding the democratization of public life and with the tasks that people's deputies must resolve in connection with the increase in the soviets' role as organs of real people's power. The redrafting [rekonstruktsiya] legislative enactments, which are being elaborated with a view to providing a legal backup for restructuring, was also discussed.

It was stressed that the transformations being vigorously implemented in the USSR and the PRC have much in common and are aimed at strengthening socialism. The participants in the conversation advocated the further improvement of friendly relations between the two countries at the state level and also between economic organs and the public.

The Chinese people are following the restructuring under way in the USSR with great interest, and they wish it success, the delegation leader said. There have been positive changes in relations between the peoples of the Soviet Union and China in recent years. All this benefits our peoples and facilitates the cause of peace and security in Asia.

Departs Georgia for Leningrad

LD2207185688 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1230 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Tbilisi, 26 Jul (TASS)—Song Rufen, vice chairman of the Legislative Affairs Commission of the Chinese NPC, has termed his visit to the USSR as successful. He is heading a delegation of Chinese parliamentarians, which is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Legislative Proposals Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet. For 4 days the guests have familiarized themselves with life in the Soviet Transcaucasian Republic of Georgia.

"Meetings with Soviet people convince us that they have deep feelings of friendship toward the Chinese people. Mutual visits of parliamentarians are useful; they help to establish good-neighborly cooperation betwee the PRC and the USSR," Song Rufen told a TASS correspondent.

At a meeting in the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Abkhaz ASSR, the guests were briefed on the life of the autonomous republic which is a part of Georgia. Abkhazes can receive education in their mother tongue. There are Abkhaz faculties in the local university. In the Abkhaz capital Spukhumi there is an institute of subtropical farming, the only one of its kind in the USSR. Books, newspapers, and journals are published in the Abkhaz language. The republic is one of the major suppliers of citrus fruit, tobacco, and tea in the USSR.

The delegation of Chinese parliamentarians left Sukhumi today for Leningrad where it will continue its familiarization with life in the USSR.

Sinologist Notes PRC Planning Cooperation

OW2307125988 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 17 Jul 88

[Excerpts] Dear Chinese listeners: The Soviet people are delighted to hear news about China's successes in implementing the ongoing 5-year plan, which has entered its 3d year. Soviet sinologist (Loginov) held that the tremendous achievements scored in the course of implementing

the 5-year plan are due in large measure to China's economic planning work, which has been raised to a new, high level. [passage omitted]

(Loginov) notes: The First 5-Year Plan for developing the PRC's economy, and covering the 5 years between 1953 and 1957 that have become legendary, came into being 35 years ago. Drafting the First 5-Year Plan was a very complicated task, given that the economy was ruined by protracted wars and armed external interference. The nation experienced shortages of urgently needed materials and commodities. Its financial sources were also very limited. The PRC could not count on the assistance of the Western nations, which were openly hostile toward the young republic. Two months after the birth of the PRC, the United States officially declared a total embargo against China. Other capitalist nations followed the U.S. lead in declaring boycotts, and in May 1951, the UN General Assembly, under U.S. pressure, passed a resolution banning trade with China. The inexperience of the young republic's party and government organs in economic construction was also a major handicap. Under these conditions, the PRC Government turned to the USSR for help in drafting the First 5-Year Plan. [passage omitted]

At present, cooperation between Soviet and Chinese planning organs has reached a new stage. The Soviet and Chinese planning commissions are in regular contact to exchange views on cooperation in many fields including economics, trade, science, and technology. A meeting between Maslyukov and Yao Yilin, chairmen of the two nations' planning commissions, took place in July 1988. [as heard] They discussed questions concerning business cooperation between the central planning commissions of the Soviet Union and China. The two sides held that their meeting was of great significance for long-term planning, bilateral contacts, enriching each other's economic construction experience, and bringing about profound social and economic changes.

Northeast Asia

DPRK Army Youth Workers Visit 14-21 Jul

PM2507141288 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Jul 88 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Exchange of Work Experience"]

[Text] A delegation of workers from the Korean People's Army [KPA] League of Socialist Working Youth of Korea [LSWYK] headed by Senior Colonel Yi Chonchol, chief of the LSWYK of the KPA General Political Bureau, visited the Soviet Union from 14-21 July.

While at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and the political directorates of Leningrad Military District and the Moscow Air Defense District, the delegation members familiarized themselves with the work experience of Komsomol organizations in the communist education of young people in the Army and in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the 20th Komsomol Congress. They also familiarized themselves with the tasks set for the Komsomol by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, and they met with the Komsomol aktiv of military units.

The delegation was received by Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. At the Komsomol Central Committee, talks were held with V.I. Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee.

The guests visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the museum of V.I. Lenin's office and apartment in the Kremlin. They also saw the sights of Moscow and Leningrad.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Cambodia's Hun Sen Submits Reconciliation Plan

LD2607121688 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Jakarta July 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Aleksey Petrov:

Hun Sen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, has advanced the programme for peaceful political settlement of the Kampuchean problem on the basis of national reconciliation and for ending foreign interference to create a peaceful, independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

Speaking late on Monday before journalists in Bogor, where an informal meeting on Kampuchea takes place, Hun Sen made public the peaceful settlement programme. The seven-point document provides for creating a council for national reconciliation headed by Norodom Sihanouk, with the participation of four Kampuchean sides, for holding general elections to the National Assembly, for adopting a new constitution and for forming a coalition government.

It was also proposed to set up an international commission to oversee implementation of the agreements reached in the field of political settlement, to hold an international conference with the participation of Kampuchea, Vietnam, Laos, ASEAN countries, the chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, permanent members of the U.N. Security Council and the U.N. secretary-general, as well as other countries which contribute to strengthening peace in South-East Asia, with the aim of guaranteeing independence, sovereignty and neutrality of Kampuchea as a non-aligned state.

The programme provides for concluding the withdrawal of the remaining part of the Vietnamese volunteers from Kampuchea by the end of 1989 or in the first quarter of 1990 at the latest with the simultaneous ending of foreign interference in Kampuchea's internal affairs, including foreign aid to Pol Pot men and other factions of the Khmer opposition, including the use of bases and

shelters outside Kampuchea as well as refugee camps. The internal problems of Kampuchea must be solved by the Kampuchean side itself on the basis of national reconciliation, removal of the Pol Pot upper crust and the elimination of Pol Pot armed groups.

The programme also provides for retaining the status quo in Kampuchea up to holding general elections to the National Assembly, which will adopt a new constitution and form a coalition government.

Near East & South Asia

Military Attache Rebuts Pakistan Allegations

BK2707090688 Hong Kong AFP in English 0846 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] New Delhi, July 27 (AFP)—The Soviet Union has pulled 35,000 troops out of Afghanistan under a United Nations-sponsored accord, and the withdrawal is progressing on schedule, a Soviet official said here.

The statement Tuesday by Colonel Yuriy V. Kornilov, assistant military attache at the Soviet Embassy in India, followed charges by Pakistan President Mohammad Ziaul Haq that the Soviet withdrawal that started May 15 had stopped.

Col Kornilov said General Ziaul Haq's charges Saturday that Moscow had halted the withdrawal and sent as many as 10,000 troops back into Afghanistan was "designed to mislead world opinion."

Even U.S. Defence Secretary Frank Carlucci has expressed satisfaction that the withdrawal was progressing as scheduled, Col Kornilov said.

He told Indian journalists here that Soviet troops have already left 19 of 30 Afghan provinces and that half the estimated 115,000 troops are to pull out of the country by August 15.

Under the Geneva accords signed by Afghanistan and Pakistan, with the United States and the Soviet Union as guarantors, half of all Soviet troops are to pull out by August 15 and the remainder by February 15, 1989.

Col Kornilov admitted however that the withdrawing troops were facing some difficulties, mainly attacks from Afghan insurgents and landmines planted along the withdrawal route from land-locked Afghanistan.

He cited one instance when a Soviet mechanized unit had to defuse 300 landmines in Badakhsan Province before pulling out.

Withdrawal 'On Schedule'

PM2707091288 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[APN correspondent V. Bazarov report: "Afghanistan: Troops Departing on Schedule"]

[Text] Konduz, Kabul—Strictly on schedule, a Soviet motorized infantry regiment was withdrawn from the northeastern province of Badakhshan, and another province was added to the 18 Afghan provinces where there are no Soviet troops, APN's correspondent reports to the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA editorial office.

Not far from the city of Konduz—center of the province of the same name—a temporary field camp has been set up for the withdrawing motorized infantry regiment. Dusty combat hardware stands in several rows. After a tough 250-km march, the servicemen are preparing the vehicles for the final crossing to the Soviet border.

"The crossing from Feyzabad (center of Badakhshan Province) was very difficult," Colonel Vladimir Bashkirov, the regimental commander, says. "The servicemen of the unit and the backup subunits showed courage, endurance, and skill. On the Feyzabad-Konduz route more than 500 mines and landmines were rendered harmless. The columns crossed steep passes of hairpin bends, restoring as they went along the bridges and sections of road that had been brought down by the mountain torrents, and in addition the regiment was marching under a blazing sun. The temperature reached 50-60 degrees, and a column of dust that would not settle made the situation en route considerably more difficult. Unfortunately, we did not avoid all unpleasant incidents. Several combat vehicles were blown up by mines and landmines and several men were wounded.

"On the march, extremists from the opposition tried several times to provoke us and make us open fire against peaceful villages," V. Bashkirov goes on. "They fired on the tail of the column, but we showed restraint and did not return their fire."

"The Soviet troops' withdrawal is continuing on schedule, and there are no grounds to claim that it has halted," said Lieutenant Colonel Ratna Bakhadur [name as published] (Nepal), leader of the inspection group of UN military observers responsible for monitoring the withdrawal of the Soviet military unit from the territory of Badakhshan Province. "Reports coming in from Kabul and from our control point in Hayraton," he noted, "as well as what we ourselves can see here, confirm this fact fully. By 15 August half the military contingent is to leave Afghan territory. There is still time, nearly a month remains. We have sufficient evidence that the Soviet Union and Afghanistan are making no changes to the schedule for the troop withdrawal."

Pavlov Comments on Charges

LD2607122188 Moscow in English to North America 2300 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Top Soviet officials have strongly rejected Pakistan's charges that the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan has not only slowed down, but that another 10,000 troops have been moved in. More from our observer Igor Pavlov, and this is what he writes:

The chief of the General Staff, Marshal Sergey Akhromeyev, has called the charge pure slander and said the withdrawal was proceeding in full accordance with the Geneva accords. They require the departure of half of the troops by 15 August. The Soviet Foreign Ministry has said the assertion made by the Pakistani President Ziaul Haq was provocative. Earlier this month First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov summoned the U.S. ambassador, Jack Matlock, and a Pakistani official to his office and complained that Pakistan was violating its commitments under the Geneva accords by arming guerrillas on its territory.

In the United States, Defense Secretary Frank Carlucci and Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead said they accepted Soviet assurances that the pullout was continuing and on schedule. Why has the U.S. accepted the Soviet version of the events, and by doing so seemed to have abandoned President Ziaul Haq of Pakistan, one of its best friends in the region? First of all, the United States must be monitoring the Soviet pullout with its national control and verification means—to be more specific, with military satellites. And if the Pentagon was able to monitor troop movements during the Iran-Iraq war, even if they were down to a brigade, the Soviet pullout can be verified. Secondly, the Pakistani president relies on information supplied by the Afghan opposition. They were and still are politically motivated and therefore are terribly slanted. Suffice it to recall their reports on Soviet and Afghan casualties. They were unbelievably exaggerated. So in the United States they take whatever is recorded by the guerrillas with a grain of salt.

What is it that makes the Pakistani-based opposition and President Ziaul Haq come up with their charge? Most probably they have underestimated the ability of the Afghan Army to halt the advance of guerrilla units once the Soviet pullout began. Guerrilla leaders believed that not only small towns and villages would be falling into their hands, but whole provinces as well. They spoke with utmost disdain of the national reconciliation policy launched by Kabul, predicting that it won't work. But there have been a number of reports lately of the growing friction within the seven-party alliance, of the desertions of guerrilla units to the side of the Kabul Government, and, last but not least, of high casualties inflicted on the guerrillas in recent battles by the Afghan Army.

And finally, the Pakistani president has often complained of the Soviet threat to buttress his request for more American weapons. In the State Department there are officials who believe that this time the old trick is back again.

26 Jul Rocket Attack on Kabul Reported

LD2707110588 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul—Extremists again shelled residential areas of the Afghan capital last night. As a result of the rocket explosions one person has been killed and six wounded, according to preliminary information.

'Extremists' Active on Religious Holiday

LD2507162988 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Excerpts] In Afghanistan the most ceremonious religious festive day, 'Id al-Adha, is being celebrated. Our Kabul correspondent Aleksandr Shkirando reports:

[Shkirando] This is one of the most ceremonious occasions for Afghans, just as for every Muslim. [passage omitted] It would seem that in Afghanistan, where the policy of national reconciliation has become a force to preserve the actual life of the people and the existence of the state, these celebrations should promote the unification of all Afghan people, regardless of their political views or local interests, into a single front. Toward this end the leadership of Afghanistan will allow all opposition forces to mark the festive days in the cities and villages together with their (?neighbors). Only one condition has been laid down: They should lay down their arms before entering a population center for the period of celebrations.

Many members of the opposition have already made use of this. Irreconcilable extremists, however, who claim that they are the true adherents of Islam, have opened fire on a number of Afghan cities and villages on the very first day of 'Id al-Adha, as they call it here. In the capital jet shell explosions made buildings shake and glass break. [passage omitted] These barbaric actions, perpetrated by the extremists on a sacred day for Afghan Muslims, have yet again exposed their true nature.

More on Holiday Violence

LD2507122388 Moscow TASS in English 1107 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

The members of several groups acting in opposition to the Afghan Government have taken advantage of the president's permission for visits to relatives in cities during the holidays and come to see their families in populated localities in Kabul, Parvan, Helmand, and Faryab Provinces.

Several dozens of opposition members operating in different areas of Kabul Province, for example, have come to the capital city. Its authorities organized a program of leisure activities in a local part Monday especially for them.

An opposition unit based in Baghlan Province has renounced armed struggle against the government. The unit's leader Muhammad Din explained that the humane steps of the government which has proclaimed and is pursuing a policy of national reconciliation have helped them to take the decision to discontinue military activities from which innocents have been suffering.

The former rebels armed with grenade launchers and large-caliber machine-guns have joined the home-guard force.

But most anti-government groups are continuing their terrorist and subversive activities.

It is only thanks to the vigilance of security personnel that another crime has been prevented in Emam Saheb district in Konduz Province. Rebels planted several time-bombs outside a mosque there, which were to go off during a festive service.

But the bombs were defused in time and the terrorists arrested. An investigation into their case is currently under way.

Die-hard opposition groups have undertaken also a number of other activities elsewhere in the country to spoil the Muslim holiday of 'Id al-Adha.

From the morning of July 24 till the morning of July 25 they carried out 13 shellings of populated localities in the provinces of Kabul, Vardak, Qandahar, Lowgar, Parvan and Faryab, Khowst district and other parts of Afghanistan.

A total of 58 civilians were killed and another 116 wounded at the hands of the rebels, not counting the casualties in Kabul, in the week preceding the holiday.

There were casualties also among army troops.

In response to the shellings and attacks Afghan Army and militia units dealt blows to die-hard opposition units, killing or wounding more than 300 extremists in the same week.

Opposition plans to escalate the hostilities remain unchanged. This is borne out by the arrival of further convoys with arms and ammunition to Afghanistan.

On July 23, for example, a convoy with rocket launchers, large-caliber machine-guns, mortars, grenade-launchers and firearms came to Shakar Darreh district in Kabul Province from Pakistan.

A similar convoy arrived to Zabul Province.

According to incoming reports, there are immense quantities of arms stockpiled on the Pakistani borders. Seven major transshipment storage facilities have just been completed in Khyber area and arms and ammunition from there are being shipped into Afghanistan.

The flames of war in Afghanistan are being maintained also by foreigners directly involved in fighting on the side of the rebels. A group of 200 Arabs, for example, has operated on the district center together with units of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan".

Najibullah Receives Afghan Opposition Elements

LD2607162688 Moscow TASS in English 1558 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 26 TASS—By TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin:

Afghan President Najibullah today received representatives of armed opposition detachments.

Availing themselves of the president's permission to visit their families during the Moslem holiday of 'Id al-Adha, 342 opponents of the government had come to Kabul from neighbouring districts.

At the meeting Najibullah congratulated all members of anti-government groups, in the person of the visitors, on the holiday.

Those groups continue to reject the Geneva accords and the appeal by the people's government to stop the bloodshed.

The president expressed the hope that the opposition would heed the voice of reason and renounce the senseless internecine war between Afghans.

Murakhovskiy, Afghan Official Hold Talks

PM2707130988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Cooperation Is Developing"]

[Text] Vsevelod Murakhovskiy, chairman of the Gosagroprom of the USSR and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, received on 26 July Muhammad Sarwar Mangal, deputy prime minister of the Republic of Afghanistan, who has arrived in the Soviet Union at the head of a government delegation.

During their conversation, they discussed the topical questions of Soviet-Afghan trade and economic relations and progress in implementing bilateral agreements on cooperation aimed at developing the key sectors of the Afghan economy in the conditions of the national reconciliation policy pursued by the leadership of the Republic of Afghanistan. They also discussed prospects for the development of mutually advantageous economic ties between our two countries. The following members

of the Afghan delegation took part in the conversation: S. Husayn, minister of planning; M.A. Kawa, minister of mining and industry; and M. Safi, Afghan ambassador to the USSR.

'Opposition' Losing Population's Support

PM2507134788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Situation in Afghanistan"]

[Excerpt] Kabul, 21 Jul—[Passage omitted] The situation in Afghanistan is also characterized by an increase in disagreeements between individual opposition units. In the last few days bitter internecine clashes between hostile rebel groupings took place in the provinces of Paktia, Ghazni, Herat, and Samangan. At least 40 extremists have died.

At the same time the movement against the "transitional government" in Peshawar is expanding among various opposition units. Thus, Ahmad Shah Mas'ud—the head of the Panjshir rebels—intends to elect his own autonomous government. The Shi'ite opposition groups in the "Harakat-e Enqelabi Eslami Afghanistan" [Islamic Revolutionary Movement of Afghanistan], headed by Ayatollah Mohseni Qandahari (he is in Pakistan), have adopted the same decision. For a number of reasons many opposition detachments and groups in the regions of Afghanistan from which the Soviet troops have been withdrawn are withdrawing from active struggle and advocating the cessation of combat operations.

The population in various regions of the country is expressing dissatisfaction with the rebels' actions and demanding the cessation of shelling from their territory. Thus the population of of Spinzarab village [name as published] have refused to meet the demand of the leader of one armed group "Hezb-e Eslami Afghanistan" [Islamic Party of Afghanistan] to leave the village so that combat operations can be conducted from the territory of this region against the government, stating, in particular, that the rebels' presence is preventing them from carrying out agricultural work.

A jirgah of the Arab-Kuchi nomadic tribe has taken place in Kabul. Speaking there Muhammad Ashraf Ahmadzai [name as published], the nomads' deputy in the lower house of the Afghan parliament, stated on behalf of his fellow tribesmen his support for national reconciliation. The participants in the jirgah condemned Pakistan's incessant interference in Afghan affairs and demanded that Ziaul Haq's regime adhere to its pledges made within the framework of the Geneva agreements. The jirgah described the rebels' bombardment of Kabul, which has led to countless casualties among the peaceful population, as "criminal and inhuman."

Repatriation Efforts Meet Opposition 'Blitz'

LD2207164488 Moscow TASS in English 1056 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] Kabul July 20 TASS—The Ziaul Haq administration is reportedly going to bow to pressure from world opinion and start repatriating Afghan refugees en masse after the Moslem feast of the sacrifice, 'Id al-Adha.

Reports reaching here claim that 50,000 people are to be given the possibility to return home at the initial phase.

Local authorities have begun preparatory work in the Kachagari refugee camp outside Peshawar. This includes compiling lists of those willing to go back to Afghanistan and distributing questionnaires among them.

The measures have invited a counter-propaganda blitz from the "Alliance of the Seven", which has sponsored several rallies calling on refugees not to return.

One argument used is that the opposition allegedly plans to launch large-scale military operations in the near future, which will involve heavy shellings of many cities and settlements in Afghanistan.

Gulbuddin Hikmatyar intends to meet with Ziaul Haq to persuade him to rescind his repatriation decision and not to help Afghan refugees to return home.

Bad living conditions, heat, semi-hungry existence and lack of aid from the "Alliance", in the meantime, have given rise to resentment and protests on the part of Afghans. They are demanding a possibility to go back to Afghanistan.

Deaths of refugees in camps are increasingly frequent. Over just the past month since June 20 eighteen people have died in Alipur camp.

PDPA Official Denies Rebel Capture of Qalat

PM2607114788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Special correspondent B. Kotov dispatch under the rubric "Our Interviews": "The Truth About the Fighting for the City of Qalat"]

[Text] Kabul, July—If you leave Kabul and head south down the trans-Afghan highway, after some 300 km you will come to Zabol Province and then to its administrative center, the city of Qalat. This ancient town is not very big—there are just 7,000 inhabitants—but for some 2 months now its name has been given an exaggerated role by the Western mass media.

At first every effort was made to laud the "courage and valor" of the armed Afghan rebels who had "smashed" the resistance put up by government troops and taken the city of Qalat by storm, thereby cutting off the ancient capital of Afghanistan, Qandahar, from the present-day

capital, Kabul. Now the record has changed: They are praising the "humanism" of the armed extremists, who have "voluntarily relinquished" the city so as not to subject the population to the danger of massive bomb attacks by the republic's armed forces.

So what has really been happening in the Afghan province of Zabol? I asked Comrade Ata Muhammad Sekanay [name as published], secretary of the province's PDPA Committee.

"The truth is that Qalat has not been in the hands of the rebels for a single day," my interlocutor said. "The city was under siege for exactly 1 month, but it stood its ground and won through.

"It all began around 20 May. At that time 41 armed extremist formations had assembled near the city on orders from Peshawar. They succeeded in getting the most backward elements of the province's population behind them by promising them 'rich pickings.' This meant that the enemy had mustered a total of 7,000 people in its ranks—exactly equivalent to the number of people living in Qalat. They had prepared very thoroughly for plundering the city: They had brought 800 donkeys with them and had even stocked up with rope for strapping on the load.

"The city authorities and army command did everything possible to avoid bloodshed. For 25 days, despite massive shelling of the city, we took no decisive action," Ata Muhammad Sekanay said. "We sent truce envoys and held negotiations. In the end a representative delegation—the governor of Qalat, members of the city clergy, elders, and prominent citizens—went to the enemy headquarters. I was among them.

"We took with us a Koran, a prayer mat, and a bull for sacrifice. Everything was done in line with custom and religious tradition and the laws of the shari'a. We suggested to them that we hold a jirgah and come to a peace agreement. They rejected our Koran and rejected the idea of a jirgah, thereby breaking the laws of Islam. Surely true Muslims would not act like this? The whole of the city population was convinced of their hypocrisy. True, some commanders of the armed groups frankly admitted that they personally could have reached a peace agreement but were prevented from doing so as they had to carry out the order given by Pakistan.

"I will say in passing that we have since learned that the 'Alliance of Seven' had allocated 4.7 billion afghanis for the operation to seize Qalat. Foreign advisers, whose headquarters were situated in the village of Akhmat Shakhel [name as published] in our province's Shinkay district, took part in the operation. On instructions from these advisers all combat operations were photographed. There is evidence that two French advisers and one Pakistani adviser died near Qalat.

"But I have gotten ahead of myself. After the collapse of the negotiations we had no choice left other than to begin decisive combat operations. The enemy was totally defeated. With 310 of their men dead and more than 300 wounded, on 23 June the rebels lifted their siege of the city and scattered.

"I would like to remark on the great fighting spirit of our servicemen. Regular army units and other military formations took part in the fighting. Senior Sergeant Nawab and Senior Sergeant Abdol Wali, the commanders of combat posts, particularly distinguished themselves.

"The situation in our city is back to normal again. The residents are calmly working, the peasants are working in the fields, and shop keepers are trading. The city has everything it needs to live.

"Implementing the national reconciliation policy, we leaders and members of the province's PDPA organization regard one of our main tasks as doing our utmost to strengthen the Republic's armed forces," Ata Muhammad Sekanay said in conclusion. "We were urged to do this by the recent PDPA Central Committee plenum.

"With the full withdrawal of the limited Soviet troop contingent, we will have to independently guarantee the defense of our country against any encroachment."

Plight of POW's, Recovery Efforts Reviewed

LD2707094388 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0730 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Excerpt] We are all concerned with the fate of the servicemen who have fallen into the hands of the Afghan opposition. The Soviet Government is making efforts to return the soldiers to their homeland and a lot of work is under way to find those who are missing. At the microphone is our correspondent Aleksandr Kuzin:

[Kuzin] Over the course of all these years much is being done to determine the fate of every missing person and to return those who have been captured to their homeland. It has already proved possible to free dozens of our lads, but the return of Soviet POW's who have fallen into the hands of the Afghan armed opposition remains one of the most acute problems. This work requires great care and caution, so as not to break the sometimes fine threads of established contacts and ties through mediators.

The governments of a number of countries and voluntary organizations are involved in this work, and it has to be said that they are taking specific steps to save the prisoners and to conduct a vigorous search for them. The complexity of this work also lies in the fact that Soviet soldiers sometimes find themselves in the hands of diverse groupings which do not recognize the international convention on POW's or refuse to bear responsibility for them. Cases of forcible detention of Soviet

servicemen in Pakistan are coming to the attention of the world public, although the Pakistani authorities continue to assert that there are no Soviet POW's on their territory.

Well, we'll leave that to the conscience of Pakistan, but there are progressive people in that country who are using the available possibilities to exert influence on the government toward a political settlement to the problem around Afghanistan. [passage omitted]

Iran-Iraq Talks, Prisoner Question Noted

PM2707080488 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[IZVESTIYA Press Service report: "Iran-Iraq: Fierce Fighting on the Eve of Talks"]

[Text] UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar has expressed the hope that he will begin talks separately with the foreign ministers of Iraq and Iran in New York on 27 July.

"I would very much like to believe," he stated, "that we will be able to achieve progress along the path of implementing Security Council Resolution 598." According to the UN secretary general it is, however, too early yet to speak of the possibility of holding direct talks between representatives of the warring parties.

Meanwhile, according to reports from Iran, new groups of volunteers are being sent to the front, where fierce fighting continues. Tehran radio reported that one such group was received by Ayatollah Khomeyni, leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran, last Monday. The Iranians claim that in the last few days they have managed to rebuff attacks by Iraqi troops on the central and southern sectors of the front.

Citing a communique from the Iraqi main military command, REUTER reported that Baghdad has confirmed its intention to withdraw troops from all Iranian settlements occupied in the past week. The communique once again stresses Iraq's lack of any territorial claims on Iran.

Commenting on the present situation at the front, the French newspaper LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS writes that Iraq, having launched a broad offensive, is trying simultaneously to regain all the territory earlier occupied by the Iranians and to take as many prisoners as possible, thus arriving at a number equal to the number of Iraqi prisoners of war. The newspaper says that the question of prisoners remains one of the most sensitive in relations between Baghdad and Tehran.

Iranian Decision on Resolution 598 Viewed

PM2707094188 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 9

[Sergey Medvedko "Viewpoint: "Resolution 598 and the Cup of Poison"]

[Text] The news that Iran has agreed to fulfill UN Security Council Resolution 598 has caused a sigh of relief throughout the world. This document, adopted unanimously a year ago, contained an appeal to Iran and Iraq to immediately end hostilities, withdraw their troops to internationally recognized borders, release their prisoners of war, and begin talks on settling the conflict. Iraq confirmed its readiness to fulfill the will of the international community, but Iran declined.

And now Ayatollah Khomeyni, the leader of the Islamic revolution, finally addressed the Iranian people on the radio and announced his decision to recognize Resolution 598. He announced that this step "is being made in the interests of the Islamic revolution and is not a new tactical ploy to continue the war." "Doing this," the 87-year-old Iranian leader said, "is more painful than drinking a cup of poison. But I entrust myself to God's will and drink this cup in the name of accomplishing the will of the Almighty." At the same time the ayatollah pointed out that "Iran's fulfillment of the UN resolution does not mean that all the war's problems are resolved." He also warned the naval forces of the United States and its allies against any further stay in the Persian Gulf region: "I warn them and demand they leave the region immediately before it is too late."

And so conditions have been created for ending the bloodiest carnage since the end of World War II. In 8 years over 1 million people have become casualties of this war. Hundreds of population centers and economic establishments lie in ruins and once fertile lands have been devastated. The fruit of the painstaking labor of several generations of Iranians and Iraqis has been destroyed. The sides' material losses run into hundreds of billions of dollars. According to economists' calculations, Iraq will need at least 27 years to restore its economy and Iran will need 90 years.

It is hard to judge what finally prompted Khomeyni to take the long awaited step to end the protracted tragedy: Economic losses and casualties on the fronts or among the civilian population? Like those which occurred as the result of the destruction of the Iranian airliner 3 July?

"What happened in the sky over the Persian Gulf was terrible," Sa'dun Hammadi, member of the Revolution Command Council and chairman of the Iraqi National Council, said in a talk with me. He was heading the Iraqi delegation which had come to the USSR to take part in the Soviet-Iraqi friendship days. "The Iraqis, like all peoples of the world, were shaken by the news of the destruction of the Iranian civilian aircraft by U.S. Navy missiles. But let's try to investigate the sources of this

terrible tragedy. Yes, the Americans are to blame for the destruction of the Airbus. Had there not been such a concentration of U.S. ships there, it would not have happened. But why is the U.S. Navy in the Gulf? For a long time Iranian launches have been attacking civilian ships—the oil tankers of many countries—and laying mines. This is a threat to all littoral Arab states. That is why Kuwait appealed to the United States for help. And so for a year now U.S. warships have been escorting Kuwaiti tankers. Had Iran not pursued such an aggressive policy the United States would not have had to be called in.

"Our country has frequently urged Iran to peace and expressed a readiness to conduct talks on the basis of fair principles. Unfortunately, Tehran has been reluctant to heed the voice of reason. The war is a terrible source of tragedies and it must be halted together," the Iraqi parliamentarian said in conclusion.

Perhaps Tehran has now also reached the same conclusion. What is it? The will of Allah or of people from Khomeyni's entourage? Whatever the case, it may boldly be said that Iran's step to end the protracted and bloody conflict is a victory for common sense over the senselessness of war.

Indian Delegation Visits, Discusses Equipment

BK2007165088 Delhi Domestic Service in English 1530 GMT 20 Jul 88

[Text] A high-level delegation led by the minister for steel and mines, Mr M.L. Fotedar, which was in Moscow recently, has urged the Soviet authorities to expedite the delivery of equipment needed for the timely commissioning of the Vishakhapatnam Steel Plant. The delegation returned to New Delhi today after holding discussions with the Soviet leaders in this regard.

Mr Fotedar conveyed to the Soviet leaders India's interest in a long-term agreement for the purchase of scrap from the Soviet Union.

The delegation also discussed the setting up of a project to manufacture iron powder and ferrite from the rich deposit of blue dust available in Bailadila.

Departure of Egyptian Delegation Noted

LD2107163688 Moscow TASS in English 1618 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 21 TASS—The delegation of the People's Assembly of the Arab Republic of Egypt, led by its speaker Rif'at Mahjub, left Moscow by air today. The guests paid an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Sub-Saharan Africa

RSA Moves 'Large Army Units' to Angolan Border

LD2707105388 Moscow TASS in English 1035 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Luanda July 27 TASS—South African racists are moving large army units from illegally-occupied Namibia to the borders of the People's Republic of Angola.

The Namibian news agency NAMPA reported that a large amount of troops and military hardware was concentrated on the bases in Ogongo, Inane and Okalongo in northern Namibia. Additional fighters were based at the South African air base in Ondangwe, 60 km from Angolan territory. NAMPA also reports that South African troops were amassed near villages Okahanga and Otjivarongo.

News analysts believe that the Pretoria's hostile actions are evidence of the South African intention to put pressure on the Angolan Government so that it drops its demands at the talks between Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the USA on the settlement of the situation in southern Africa.

Angola, Namibia 'Settlement Principles' Agreed

PM2607120788 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Own correspondent I. Tarutin dispatch: "Principles of Settlement Outlined"]

[Text] Harare, 22 Jul—A document to settle the crisis in southwest Africa has been simultaneously issued in Pretoria, Washington, Havana, and Luanda. It was drafted during a series of quadripartite talks involving South Africa, the United States, Angola, and Cuba and contains agreed principles for a peaceful resolution of the Angolan and Namibian conflicts.

A crucial accord on granting independence to Namibia based on UN Security Council Resolution 435 has first and foremost been achieved. The Angolan and South African Governments must cooperate with the UN secretary general to secure Namibia's independence by holding free and fair elections there. The South African troops occupying Namibia must withdraw from the country.

The "settlement principles" provide for a phased pullback to the north and then a phased and complete withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angolan territory.

The role of the permanent members of the UN Security Council as observers of the execution of these agreements is recognized as important. They also act, it is pointed out, as guarantors that each state in the region may freely carry out its development and social progress in peace.

VOA 'Canard' on Ethiopia Ridiculed

PM2607154588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Demidov dispatch under the rubric "'D' (Disinformation) Bomb": "Habit Is Second Nature"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 25 Jul—It has rightly been remarked that habit is second nature. The habit of pouring one tub of mud after another onto Ethiopia long ago became such an inalienable "alter ego" of certain Western mass propaganda and news media.

And a few days ago the authors of a program prepared by VOA once again decided to "tarnish" the reputation of the country's government. A volley of slander was fired at its efforts aimed at overcoming the consequences of the drought which has mainly hit the north of the republic—the provinces of Eritrea and Tigre. VOA used the entire multikilowatt power of its relay transmitters to lament that "thousands of people in the northern parts (of Ethiopia—S.D.) have been abandoned to the mercy of fate to die of hunger."

Such exaggerations, to put it mildly, are not accidental. The radio station's fabrication, the ETHIOPIAN NEWS AGENCY [ENA] points out in its commentary, is based on similar claims by U.S. President R. Reagan, who has never made a secret of his antipathy toward the Ethiopian revolution.

The timing is not accidental either. VOA launched its "canard" onto the airwaves after the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] not so long ago suspended the activities of employees of international governmental and nongovernmental organizations who had been assisting drought victims in Eritrea and Tigray.

Officially that decision was adopted for their own safety: A particularly tense situation had taken shape in the north because of the separatists' military operations. Incidentally, ENA emphasizes, representatives of these organizations had an excellent opportunity to see with their own eyes—it is better to see once than to hear 100 times—that the Ethiopian authorities had certainly not abandoned their fellow citizens in the northern provinces in their misfortune. Despite considerable difficulties—detachments of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front and the Tigre People's Liberation Front waging armed struggle against the government are cutting roads, and there is a shortage of means of transport and spare parts for them in the country—the country's leadership is doing everything possible to save the lives of inhabitants of the drought-hit regions. They are being supplied with grain, flour, other foods, medical supplies, and essentials.

All these efforts by the PDRE Government to surmount the natural disaster were viewed as satisfactory by Lorenzo Natali, vice president of the European Community Commission and chairman of the ECC Commission for Development, who visited Ethiopia in mid-June.

But VOA seems to hear only itself. Its fabrications are on a par with the "information" carried in the pages of THE NEW YORK TIMES. During a news conference for local and foreign journalists Mengistu Haile Mariam, the Ethiopian leader, cited the contents of this item as a graphic example of the information war unleashed against Ethiopia. It stated that the present authorities in the PDRE are entirely responsible for the death of the wife of Haile Selassie I, the last emperor of Ethiopia, and yet she died...15 years before the 1974 revolution....

It is a familiar habit to slander everything not to one's liking and everyone who refuses to stand to attention before Washington. Both VOA and THE NEW YORK TIMES seem to have ended up shooting themselves in the foot.

Ambassador to Niger Replaced on Retirement

PM2607145588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Vitaliy Yakovlevich Litvin USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Niger.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has relieved Comrade Vladimir Nikolayevich Kudashkin of his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Niger in connection with his retirement on a pension.

East Europe

CPCZ's Jakes Arrives in USSR for 'Rest'

LD2607123088 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, arrived in the Soviet Union at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee today for rest.

Bulgarian General Leads Delegation Visit

PM2607100188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 First Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "On a Friendly Visit"]

[Text] A delegation of leading political workers from the Bulgarian People's Army headed by Colonel General M. Mitkov, chief of the Bulgarian People's Army Main Political Administration, was in the Soviet Union from 18 through 22 July at the invitation of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate.

The delegation was received by Army General D.T. Yazov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR defense minister. It had a conversation at the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee.

The Bulgarian delegation met with Army General P.G Lushev, USSR first deputy defense minister. An agreement between the USSR Defense Ministry and the Bulgarian Ministry of National Defense was signed on cooperation in the sphere of military cinematography.

Conversations took place with Army General A.D. Lizichev, chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, Colonel General V.S. Nechayev, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, and other political workers took part in them.

In the course of the conversations at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate and the Baltic Military District Political Directorate, the Bulgarian comrades were familiarized with the experience of party political work in the Soviet Armed Forces and with the series of measures being conducted in connection with implementing the decisions of the 27th congress and the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The Bulgarian guests gave a briefing on the course of the fulfillment of the decisions of the 13th Congress and the BCP National Conference held this January. The conversations took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere in a spirit of mutual understanding on all problems under discussion.

The delegation visited the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and laid a wreath. A wreath was also laid at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier by the Kremlin wall.

The visitors from the Bulgarian People's Army saw memorial sites of the revolutionary, combat, and labor glory of the Soviet people and the sights of the cities of Moscow and Riga. A Soviet-Bulgarian combat collaboration rally took place at a Baltic Military District troop unit.

RCP Leadership Discusses Pact Committee Session

PM2607102388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "High Assessment"]

[Text] The RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee has discussed at an enlarged session the results of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee Conference. The RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee, the published report states, made a high assessment of the work of the Political Consultative Committee Conference and the meeting between the leaders of the Warsaw Pact delegations. It was stressed that the broad exchange of opinions on the most important problems and the documents and accords adopted open up new prospects for strengthening cooperation among the Warsaw Pact states both in the sphere of building socialism and carrying out the programs for the socioeconomic development of these countries and in the struggle for disarmament, security, and peace on the European Continent and worldwide.

Approving the documents adopted at the Political Consultative Committee conference, the RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee pointed out that they reflect the decision of the Warsaw Pact parties and states to do everything to resolutely switch to disarmament—first and foremost, nuclear disarmament—to raise mutual understanding and cooperation, and to unite all forces struggling for a better and fairer world.

The RCP Central Committee Political Executive Committee reaffirmed Romania's desire to continue to act in close unity with the other socialist countries and all peoples to implement disarmament, reject the use of force, resolve disputes between states by negotiation, establish a new international economic order, and ensure security and peace.

The session, which also examined other questions of domestic and international life, was addressed by N. Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and Romanian president.

Hungarian Economic Reform Options Examined

PM2607145188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov dispatch: "Nationwide Discussion. Routes of Economic Reform in Hungary"]

[Text] Budapest—It has already become traditional here for journalists from the fraternal countries to assemble in the Central Committee building for a press conference after each MSZMP Central Committee plenum. This press conference was held on the results of the recent, July, plenum of the Central Committee. However, this time the chairman—J. Barabas, deputy chief of the Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department—was forced to state:

"I do not even know what to tell you—after all, everything was published in the newspapers and shown on television..."

Yes, for the first time the work of the party's leading organ had been conducted, so to speak, on an open-door basis. Glasnost has involved all Hungarian society in the discussion launched at the party forum.

Widespread glasnost, it is believed here, is particularly necessary now that the party has submitted for discussion an extensive plan for an economic turnaround. Last year, a program to stabilize the national economy and extricate the country from the difficulties in which it finds itself was worked out. The last 6 months have revealed certain improvements—particularly in exports. There have also been successes (albeit modest) in the

efforts to improve industrial structure and in the struggle for profitability. However, all this is not able to prevent up to 70 percent of convertible currency export earnings being "lost" to credit and interest payments. The country's debts are not diminishing.

"From many standpoints the state of the economy is critical. Resources are limited, reserves are exhausted, and with our existing production structure it is impossible to join the main channels of international development," M. Nemeth, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, stated at the plenum.

The Central Committee has submitted two options for general discussion.

The first (Option A) proposes further unleashing market factors, making radical changes to industrial structure, and resolutely eschewing loss-making. This will produce temporary unemployment (80-100,000 people per year). The forint will be devalued. Enterprises will be entitled to a freer hand in fixing the prices of their output. And it is proposed that in 7-8 years the economy will have to adapt to "fluctuations," the competitive struggle in world markets, and the main avenues of international scientific and technical development.

Option B is aimed at leaving the regulators of centralized management at the forefront and implementing the structural regrouping of industry and the workforce somewhat more slowly than in the first case. Here too, temporary unemployment could not be avoided, but it would be limited to 30-50,000 people per year.

Each of these two options has its positive and negative aspects. In both cases measures are planned for resolving social problems that are getting worse.

How will all this link up with CEMA programs? Hungarian-Soviet economic ties are highly important to Hungary because of their size—that too was discussed at the plenum. Under both options new initiatives will be needed to ensure balanced financial relations between the two countries. After all, Hungary's trade surplus with us, as the plenum noted, will increase. How will the Soviet side make up this gap? Hungary, as is being noted here, would like to obtain more Soviet industrial output.

Which of the two options will be chosen? For the time being, most Central Committee members are inclined to the first option. "In order to achieve a turnaround we will need to make society and the economy more open in future," the information report on the plenum stated. "It is necessary to create a socialist market economy, to improve the conditions for enterprises capable of development, and to expand the opportunities for participation by foreign capital, which will promote technical progress." Many people are currently of the opinion that the old economic policy should not be "patched up" and that lags will not be made up by taking "small steps."

The work linked with the analysis of these options will continue. This fall a Central Committee plenum will again examine the specialists' conclusions, and only then will a session of the Hungarian State Assembly be held to either ratify one of the two options as a definite concept or to propose a new option—a combined option taking account of the positive aspects of each of the others.

West Europe

Shevardnadze, FRG Envoy Discuss Genscher Visit

LD2607140988 Moscow TASS in English 1358 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received today Andreas Meyer-Landrut, ambassador of West Germany to the USSR, at his request.

During their conversation they discussed questions connected with the coming working visit of Hans-Dietrich Genscher to the Soviet Union, as well as the situation at the Vienna meeting of states—participants in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Soviet Bank To Issue Bonds in FRG

LD2607142388 Moscow TASS in English 1412 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow 26 TASS—The bank for foreign economic activities of the USSR begins a 500-million-Deutsch mark bond issue in West Germany this week in the first such operation in the securities market there.

The bonds will be floated for a seven-year term at an annual rate of six and three-eighths of percent, which is in line with terms offered by prime borrowers and attests to the high international reputation of the Soviet bank.

The money obtained through the scheme will go to fund this country's foreign trade.

It is the second time that the bank for foreign economic activities will be issuing bonds abroad. The first such issue in Switzerland in January 1988 to a tune of 100 million Swiss francs riveted keen interest in international financial circles.

PASOK Delegation Visits, Sees Dobrynin

PM2507102588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "At the Invitation of the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] A delegation of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) headed by K. Laliotis, member of the PASOK Central Committee Executive Bureau, visited the Soviet Union 16-22 July 1988 at the CPSU Central Committee's invitation. The delegation was received at

the CPSU Central Committee, had conversations at Moscow City's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom and at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of World Economics and International Relations, and visited the city on the Neva, where a meeting took place at Leningrad CPSU Obkom.

On 22 July the PASOK delegation left for home.

Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting at the CPSU Central Committee with the PASOK delegation, headed by K. Laliotis, member of the Executive Bureau of the PASOK Central Committee.

The PASOK delegation conveyed a personal message from A. Papandreou, chairman of PASOK and prime minister of Greece, to M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The PASOK delegation emphasized the special interest with which PASOK and the Greek people follow the Soviet Union's efforts aimed at giving a convincing reply to the demands of the epoch and at consolidating the positive results achieved. Perestroyka creates a new favorable situation for the consolidation of peace, the advance of the cause of disarmament, and the elimination of crises and tension. It consolidates the hope for socialist renewal and is a valuable contribution to the treasure house of world socialist experience.

The Greek people will gladly welcome Mikhail Gorbachev when he is able to answer the Greek Government's invitation to visit Greece.

The PASOK representatives were informed in detail at their request about the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and about perestroyka underway in the USSR.

The PASOK delegation spoke about the strategy of the party aimed at attaining peace, independence, democracy, and socialism; about the efforts and achievements of the PASOK government since 1981; and about the course of the country's social and economic development. It set out the stances of PASOK on topical international problems, based on the goals and principles proclaimed by PASOK in the framework of the multifaceted foreign policy. The CPSU positively assessed the active role of Greece and Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou both independently and in the framework of the "initiative of the six" toward improving the international political climate and intensifying the process of disarmament.

The sides came out for ending the arms race and preventing the militarization of space until the threat of nuclear catastrophe is averted altogether, and for eliminating chemical weapons and balancing conventional armaments at the lowest possible level. In this context the Greek Socialists met with satisfaction the Soviet proposals advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev in Warsaw and the latest initiatives of socialist countries.

Both delegations regard as positive the prospect for European cooperation, which has opened as a result of the recent CEMA-EEC agreement. The agreement, being a major step toward the implementation of the idea of a "common European home," places this cooperation on a new basis.

Declaring for the creation of the atmosphere of good-neighborliness and mutual understanding in the Balkans, the sides support the initiatives aimed at turning the Balkans into a nuclear and chemical weapons-free zone.

Having discussed the situation in the Mediterranean and the problems caused by "seats of crisis" in the region, the sides pointed to the need to step up efforts aimed at turning the Mediterranean into a sea of peace, friendship, and cooperation, with a view to ultimately ridding the region of foreign naval presences and foreign bases.

The PASOK delegation spoke about the recent development of Greek-Turkish relations following Greece's initiative aimed at creating a new atmosphere and advancing the process of establishing measures of mutual confidence.

There is concern over the fact that the Cyprus problem remains unresolved due to external interference and the continued presence of Turkish troops in the northern part of the island. Representatives of the CPSU and PASOK called for intensifying the quest for ways toward a comprehensive peaceful and just settlement in Cyprus with respect for territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence, unity, and nonaligned status for the Republic of Cyprus, in accordance with UN resolutions. The convocation of an international conference on Cyprus under United Nations auspices could have a positive influence on solving external aspects of the Cyprus problem.

The sides noted that a new favorable international climate is shaping in the world as a result of important initiatives by the Soviet Union, by other peaceful countries and movements, and by the efforts of the world public. They emphasized the need to observe in all cases the principles of freedom of choice, equality and noninterference in the internal affairs of peoples, and respect for lawful sovereign rights of every country and for existing treaties and agreements, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act. The sides are of the opinion that the new atmosphere requires cohesion, cooperation, and joint activity of all democratic and progressive forces for the sake of peace, socialism, and social justice. Each of the forces of the left—communists, socialists, social democrats and others—bears part of the common responsibility and therefore can and must contribute to the achievement of this goal.

The representatives of the CPSU and PASOK declared for the further strengthening of traditional friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Greek peoples and for the development of friendly and constructive relations between the CPSU and PASOK, built on the basis of mutual respect for ideological and political principles of the two countries.

The conversation passed in a friendly and comradely atmosphere. Also taking part were Yuriy Zuyev, deputy head of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee; A. Rosios, member of the Executive Bureau of the PASOK Central Committee; V. Konstantineas, secretary of PASOK's Department of International Ties; and N. Athanasakis, member of the Central Disciplinary Council of PASOK and secretary of the PASOK Press Bureau.

Shevardnadze Receives Spanish Envoy, Message

LD1907212088 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 19 TASS—Today Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received Jose Cuenca, the ambassador of Spain to the USSR, at the latter's request.

The ambassador delivered a message from Felipe Gonzalez, chairman of the Spanish Government, to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

During the conversation the two sides expressed satisfaction with the onward development of Soviet-Spanish political dialogue which promotes the entire range of relations between the Soviet Union and Spain and serves the interests of broadening mutual understanding and trust in Europe.

Eduard Shevardnadze drew the ambassador's attention to the proposals and ideas put forward at the Warsaw meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states, which are aimed at substantially reducing the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals, at giving a strictly defensive character to the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty organisation, and at strengthening military and political stability and security in Europe.

EEC Viewing Economic Ties With USSR

LD2607100188 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Brussels July 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Albert Balebanov:

The EEC Council of Ministers has decided at its two-day session held in Brussels at the foreign minister level to instruct the executive body of the Common Market—the Commission of the European Communities—to hold talks with the Soviet Union on reaching a large-scale economic agreement. This statement was made by Greek Deputy Foreign Minister Theodhoros Pangalos, (in the rank of minister), who presided over the session. Greece is currently exercising the presidency of the EEC.

The ministers also concluded that the EEC, as organisation, will hold consultations with the Soviet Union on foreign policy issues. Pangalos said that the issue would be discussed by the heads of the foreign policy departments of the USSR and Greece during a session of the U.N. General Assembly.

The proposed consultations will also cover such issues as the situation in the Middle East, Afghanistan, Central America, East-West relations on a much wider plane and various aspects of disarmament.

According to a member of the Commission of the European Communities, Willy de Clerq, who is in charge of foreign affairs issues and trade policy of the Community, the EEC Council of Ministers instructed the commission to continue preliminary talks with the Soviet Union in the economic field. The commission plans in this connection to hold meetings with Ivan Ivanov, deputy chairman of the State Foreign Economic Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, with whom contacts were established during his stay in Brussels this year. After these meetings the commission will seek a mandate from the EEC Council of Ministers to hold official talks with the USSR.

The session of the EEC Council of Ministers will complete its work today.

Latin America & Caribbean

Leadership Congratulates Castro on Jubilee

PM2607114188 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[Soviet leadership bodies' undated greetings message to Cuban leader Fidel Castro on National Uprising Day]

[Text] To Comrade Fidel Castro Ruz, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party [PCC] Central Committee and president of the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba

Dear Comrade Fidel Castro!

On National Uprising Day we send warm fraternal greetings to the PCC Central Committee, the Councils of State and Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, and the entire Cuban people.

The day of the storming of the Moncada Barracks—26 July 1953—went down in the history of Cuba, which is rich in revolutionary traditions, as the turning point in the anti-imperialist, national liberation struggle and as the prologue to the Cuban revolution. The country's working people have traveled a glorious path over the years since then. Under the leadership of their combat vanguard—the Communist Party—they have achieved great successes in building a socialist society and made considerable progress in the socioeconomic sphere. It is with a feeling of sincere empathy that Communists and

all Soviet people note the Cuban people's creative efforts in implementing the Third PCC Congress decisions aimed at further strengthening socialism on Cuban soil.

Cuba has achieved great prestige in the international arena through its weighty contribution to the common cause of asserting the ideals of peace and progress. Cuba's active efforts in restructuring international economic relations on a just, democratic basis are well known in the world community.

The all-around and steadily expanding cooperation between our two parties, peoples, and states constitutes the foundation of Soviet-Cuban friendship. We have a right to be proud of the heights scaled. Further progress demands the more profound and innovative utilization of socialism's potential. The constant exchange of socioeconomic experience and its application with due regard for national features open up broad prospects before the socialist countries.

In celebrating together with you the 35th anniversary of the storming of the Moncada Barracks, we express to you and to the Communists and people of the Republic of Cuba our invariable solidarity and wish you great new successes in socialist building, happiness, and prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

The USSR Council of Ministers

Tolstykh Attends Meeting To Mark Cuban Uprising

PM2607115988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ceremonial Meeting"]

[Excerpts] The common task of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba is to accelerate socioeconomic development on the basis of intensifying social production. This dictates the further deepening and broadening of multifaceted cooperation between the two fraternal countries' peoples. This was emphasized at a 25 July ceremonial meeting of representatives of Moscow's working people devoted to Cuba's revolutionary festival—National Uprising Day. [passage omitted]

Rafael Mirabel Fernandez, Cuban charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR, pointed out that Cuba's socioeconomic development and the creation of the material and technical base of socialism are inseparably linked with the strengthening and consolidation of Cuba's all-around cooperation with the socialist community countries, and with the Soviet Union above all.

Cuban working people, he continued, devoted great attention to the work of the 19th all-union party conference and its decisions. Restructuring in the USSR and the rectification of negative phenomena in Cuba have the common aim of making better use of socialism's advantages in the working people's interests.

Participating in the meeting were V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; B.L. Tolstykh, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; representatives of party, soviet, and public organizations; and a delegation of the Cuban Institute for Friendship of the Peoples and the Cuban-Soviet Friendship Association.

Nicaragua's Ortega Extends Thanks for Greetings

PM2607114988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Gratitude for Congratulations"]

[Text] Daniel Ortega Saavedra, coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front and president of the Republic of Nicaragua, has sent the CPSU Central Committee a message which states:

"The National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, the people of Nicaragua, their government, and I personally thank you for the cordial congratulations in connection with the 9th anniversary of the victory of the people's Sandinist revolution.

"We express our appreciation for the firm solidarity voiced in your congratulations, for the confirmation of the principles which are strengthening relations between our countries, and for the USSR's clear determination to continue friendly ties in all spheres with Sandinist Nicaragua."

Comments on Revolution Anniversary

LD1907215988 Moscow TASS in English 2109 GMT 19 Jul 88

[Text] Managua July 19 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports:

The Nicaraguan people observes another anniversary of the victory of the Sandinist revolution in conditions of fierce struggle against imperialism and the policy of state terrorism conducted by the U.S. Administration which is striving to destroy people's power and overthrow the lawful governments [as received] of the Republic. This was said in an interview to TASS by coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Leadership of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, President of Nicaragua Daniel Ortega.

The independent foreign and home policy of the government of the Republic and the vanguard of the Nicaraguan people, the Sandinist National Liberation Front, imparts strength to our revolution which repulses all encroachments of the reactionary forces and international imperialsim, Daniel Ortega said. Taking advantage of temporary economic difficulties and the process

of democratisation in Nicaragua in the framework of the implementation of the commitments assumed by the government under the Guatemalan accords and arrangements reached during the peace talks with contras in Sapoa, the United States made an attempt to knock together a so-called internal front of the ultra-right Nicaraguan forces. The aim of the U.S. plan is to destabilize people's power, to shaken [as received] the Sandinist revolution from within. This can be compared to the activity of the Chilean reaction just before the overthrow of the Popular Unity Government.

The U.S. Embassy in Managua played the main role in implementing these far-reaching designs. It has turned into a hornet's nest of counter-revolution, the Nicaraguan leader said. It is precisely for this reason that the Government of the Republic expelled from the country U.S. Ambassador Richard Melton and other diplomats whose actions had been aimed at the aggravation of the political situation in Nicaragua. We are not going to tolerate such sallies of the internal and external counter-revolution and we shall be cutting short acts of sabotage. Nicaragua's decision showed that peoples of small countries can uphold their independence and national sovereignty against the intrigues of international imperialism and have a full right to do so, Daniel Ortega said.

The destiny of the Sandinist revolution largely depends on the position which the U.S. Administration and Congress assume with regard to aid to mercenary Somosamen units, the Nicaraguan leader said. Despite the operating ceasefire, the contras continue staging acts of terrorism against peaceful people. Washington is striving to frustrate peace talks with the counter-revolution and political settlement in Nicaragua.

The president emphasized that another meeting of heads of Central American states is to become an important step in opposing the United States aggressive, interventionist policy. On its part, the Nicaraguan leadership is prepared to fulfil the obligation to end offensive operations against armed units for the sake of an early achievement of peace and will be firmly pursuing the policy of the protection of the revolutionary gains on the basis of the principles of democracy, political pluralism, mixed economy and non-alignment, Daniel Ortega said.

Ortega Says Dukakis Offers Hope of Improved Ties

PM2607120588 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Threat of Wrecked Dialogue"]

[Text] Managua, 25 Jul—President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua has advocated the establishment of new, just relations between Latin American countries and the United States. Speaking in Leon, he urged the U.S. Administration to end its discriminatory policy against the continent's developing states and to promote the search for ways to normalize relations.

The platform of Michael Dukakis, the Democratic Party's U.S. presidential candidate, D. Ortega said, inspires hope of an improvement in U.S. ties with Latin American countries. At the same time, the influence of right-wing, extremely reactionary forces, which are hindering the establishment of normal U.S.-Nicaraguan relations, is too great in the United States. Direct evidence of this is provided by the results of the recent "election" of the leadership of the so-called "Nicaraguan democratic resistance," during which the CIA pushed former Somozist Colonel Enrique Bermudez into the post of the contras' military and political leader.

The Nicaraguan leader pointed out that Bermudez' "election" threatens to wreck the dialogue with the armed counterrevolution. The contras' provocative sallies, the road ambushes, the killings of peasants, and the attacks on Sandinist People's Army positions pursue the aim of forcing Nicaragua to retaliate and wreck the political settlement process begun in Sapoa. The contras are thereby trying to secure U.S. congressional approval for new multimillion-dollar appropriations to continue the war. D. Ortega pointed out that the Government of Nicaragua will strictly abide by its adopted pledges to cease offensive operations. At the same time, it will deal a worthy rebuff to the contras' attacks, the president emphasized.

Smirnov Meets With Visiting Delegates in Ecuador

PM2607101388 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
25 Jul 88 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Meeting Held"]

[Text] Quito, 24 Jul—CPSU delegation members have met here with delegations from the Communist Parties of Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Peru, Uruguay, and Chile attending the Ninth Ecuadorean Communist Party Congress in Quito.

The leader of the CPSU delegation—V.I. Smirnov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and second secretary of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee—briefed the representatives of Latin American communist parties in detail about the results of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference and the process of socioeconomic and political transformations taking place in the Soviet Union. In turn, the representatives of the fraternal parties told the CPSU delegation members about the great interest shown in their countries in the restructuring and glasnost process in the USSR and its positive impact on the activity of Latin America's democratic and national-patriotic forces.

Delegation Departs for Uruguay, Bolivia, Peru

PM2707103788 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
26 Jul 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Interparliamentary Ties"]

[Text] On 24 July a USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by P.K. Khabibullayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow on an official

visit to Uruguay and Bolivia at the invitation of these countries' parliaments. The delegation will have working meetings in Argentina and Peru en route. It includes deputies A.N. Volkov and V.I. Fedosov.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by V.S. Astrauskas, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and other officials.

Before leaving, the head of the delegation made the following statement to journalists:

As is well known, last year the Soviet Union was visited by delegations of Uruguayan and Bolivian parliamentarians. We are now reciprocating by visiting their countries. In this connection, expressing our appreciation to the leadership of the Uruguayan and Bolivian parliaments for their invitations, we will try to make our own contribution to developing relations of friendship and mutual understanding between our peoples, which are based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, and mutual benefit. We regard the continuation of our interparliamentary dialogue from precisely this standpoint.

Despite our differences in ideology and social systems, we are drawn together by our common concern for the future of the world. The danger of nuclear self-destruction and economic, ecological, and other cataclysms can now leave no state indifferent, in whatever part of the world it may lie. Who if not parliamentarians should take part in the search for ways to achieve mutual understanding, overcome stereotypes, establish a climate of trust and new civilized relations, and combine our efforts to solve the problems common to all peoples? All this will form the subject of the planned conversations with our parliamentary colleagues, state and political figures, and representatives of the public in both countries.

Chilean Coalition Proposes Transition Government

PY2207023688 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2000 GMT 21 Jul 88

[Text] The United Left, IU, has called on all Chileans to join a popular movement to ensure the victory of the no-vote in the upcoming plebiscite. The call to turn the campaign for the no-vote into a mass movement was made during a news conference.

According to the leftist coalition, a no-vote victory will mean the defeat of Pinochet and his regime, an end to the dictatorship, and free elections. The IU also called on the people to unite behind a strong front with the strength to force the regime to respect the democratic decision of the national majority.

The IU warned that the process leading to the plebiscite will not be carried out in a democratic climate as long as the illegitimate 1980 Constitution is in force. This Constitution bans the participation of popular parties and establishes a military tutelage of the people's sovereignty.

Chile will not rest until it can overturn the institutionalization of the dictatorial regime, and restore the full and total sovereignty of the people by the establishment of a broadly accepted provisional government committed to organizing free elections as soon as possible, and with the power to organize or call an assembly to reform the Constitution.

The IU also stressed that it will promote opposition unity without exclusions, and that it will put special emphasis on the unity of all social forces.

Anibal Palma, head of the coalition, said that the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left], which is a coalition member but did not decide what practical steps it will take regarding the no-vote front, praised the IU decision to break with the institutional order and support the no-vote in the plebiscite, stressing that the decision is a step forward in defeating the dictatorship.

Political & Social

Further on Events in Azerbaijan, Armenia Regions

Muslims Support Decisions

NC2707075688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] The heads of Muslim associations in the Transcaucasus, who met at the Muslim Board of the Transcaucasus, fully approved and supported the decisions adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July 1988. The participants in the meeting discussed ways and means of utilizing religious freedom, which is stipulated by the Constitution, in light of the effort being made to bring greater openness and democracy to all aspects of life in the country.

The Presidium's decisions were the focal point of the meeting, and Shaykh ol-Eslam Allashukur Pasha-Zade noted that the decisions were made in the higher interests of the Soviet Union. [Word indistinct] nationality and religious faith, they comply with the thoughts and wishes of all the Soviet peoples.

Pasha-Zade said that all religious followers, regardless of their faith, are citizens of the Soviet Union who enjoy equal rights. The great majority of them actively participate in production and social activities, as well as in the effort to fulfill the reconstruction tasks. He called for participation in the effort of the republic's leaders and workers to increase the pace of change in all aspects of life and to upgrade the Azerbaijan SSR's contribution toward the realization of social and economic development plans in the Soviet Union.

Commission Discusses Decisions

NC2707080788 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet International Relations and Training Commission has held its first meeting. Suleyman Tatliyev, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, addressed the gathering on the outcome of the meeting held by the SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on 18 July. The members of the commission expressed approval and complete support for the outcome of the meeting and for the speech Mikhail Gorbachev made during the proceedings. Deputy Afrand Dashdamirov, chairman of the International Relations and Training Commission, addressed the meeting. The main directions of the commission's work were discussed.

The speakers at the meeting put forward concrete proposals in connection with the various directions of the work of the commission. The question of organization was discussed. Deputy [name indistinct] Gregoryan was elected deputy chairman of the International Relations and Training Commission. Deputy [name indistinct] was elected secretary. Suleyman Rustam-Zade, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet, and Naim Fataliyev, deputy chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, participated in the work of the meeting.

The International Relations and Training Commission has urged all the republic's city and rayon people's deputies soviets and social organizations to submit their proposals and requests. This will make a significant contribution toward the effort to formulate the commission's work plans and toward the commission's practical work. The proposals should be conveyed to the following address: The Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Presidium International Relations and Training Commission, 370-152 Baku City, Narimanov (?Square), No 3.

Officials on Strikes, Effects

LD2507214988 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 25 Jul 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; participants identified by screen caption]

[Text] A session of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau has discussed the task of gorkoms, raykoms, and primary party organizations of the republic relating to the decision of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium on the resolutions of the Armenian SSR and Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviets on the issue of Nagorno-Karabakh. In its unanimously adopted resolution, the Bureau approved the Presidium's decision, considering that in the conditions that have taken shape any other decision would be contrary to the true interests of the peoples of both republics and would seriously harm intranational relations. Here is our special correspondent Nikolay Chebotarev:

[Begin recording] [Chebotarev] Today we invited to our makeshift studio those who are to resolve the tasks that have been submitted with regard to work by the masses. In your view, what are the most salient features in your work sectors, and what shortcomings have contributed most of all to destabilizing the situation?

[D.I. Astratyan, first secretary of Armenia's Ordzhonikidzevskiy Raykom] What are the most essential things among the events of the preceding period, in my view? These include the inability of party committees to control the situation, to determine clear-cut positions on the basis of the people's wishes, thoughts, and reflections, and to lead labor collectives. Perhaps we sometimes lacked the courage to speak the truth to one's face or to speak about the difficulties which were arising in the way toward resolving this complex national problem. Perhaps we were sometimes lacking experience. And today, too, one should not regard the work we will have to carry out in the forthcoming period as simple. It will be complex and difficult, but we will have to review our own mistakes and to conduct our work in the forthcoming period from the viewpoint of the tasks set forth in the decision of the Armenian Communist Party Central

Committee Bureau. The decision by the Bureau committee says very correctly that the outburst of the masses' activity was caused, to a certain degree, by the fact that social problems were not solved. and this is indeed true. Now the task is for raykoms, in particular, our raykom, and the rayispolkom—and we have already done this—to take the solution of social problems under special control.

[M.A. Petrosyan, general director of a tannery association] The other day we had a general meeting of our collective, where we discussed plans for the first 6 months and all the technical and economic indices, and we decided that we must work because strikes cannot solve anything. Our collective decided—and this decision was approved—that we have fulfilled and overfulfilled all our indices. These include the issue of contractual deliveries, the fulfilment of the state order, and achieving 102 percent of profits, with which we could create funds for social development and for building new accomodations, something that would contribute to our workers' well-being in the association and in the republic in general.

[Chebotarev] In other words, by striking we cause severe damage to our own interests. It has been said that each day on strike deprives Yerevan of 32 apartments.

[Petrosyan] Each day on strike deprives Yerevan of 32 apartments. Each day on strike means falling behind in fulfilling the plan and falling behind in the national economy. In addition, we are letting down our colleagues who work all over the Soviet Union.

[Asratyan] The related enterprises.

[Petrosyan] Yes, the related enterprises, because we cannot fulfill our contractual obligations. On top of that, by failing to cope with our contractual obligations we have to pay huge fines, which eventually will also affect the work of enterprises and associations in the republic.

[Asratyan] I would like to add something. On the whole, this entire period has been a test for many leaders of enterprises and organizations, for many secretaries of party organizations, and for raykoms. And you know, the experience of the past period shows that we achieved a certain amount of success where we succeeded in explaining to broad groups of the working people the illegality of the idea that such complex problems pertaining to state and nationalities can be solved by strikes. Now we are taking all measures enabling us to fulfill our international duty to collectives in the country's other regions. On the other hand, it seems very correct that raykoms and primary party organizations—and this was also mentioned in the decision by the party Central Committee Bureau—should strengthen their work aimed at fighting negative phenomena. This is something that will enable us to restore social justice, to show to the republic's Communists and working people how committed party committees are, how they will be able to master the situation, and to lead the masses after this decision was made.

[Chebotarev] And now fewer words and more concrete deeds! [end recording]

Vezirov-NKAO Bureau Meeting

NC2707074688 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1600 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] Abdul Rakhman Vezirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, has met with the members of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] Party Committee Bureau at the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee building. The participants at the meeting discussed the main tasks that have been derived from the decision adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in connection with the question of Nagorno-Karabakh and the address Mikhail Gorbachev made during the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's meeting on 18 July.

It was noted that all of the republic's Communists and workers received with a high sense of responsibility the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's decision, which was aimed at rectifying the situation and removing the serious shortcomings that have been allowed to exist for a long time in resolving the many problems concerning the interests of the Armenian population of the autonomous oblast related to the cultural and educational domains and to the cadres policy. The members of the party committee bureau explained the work carried out by the NKAO party organization to realize the Presidium's decision. It was noted that the local party and soviet organs were channeling their efforts toward establishing a normal work rhythm and strengthening socialist law and public order.

Concrete measures were set up to normalize the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh and the neighboring rayons and it was determined that the task of establishing firendly and fraternal relations between the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples was of particular importance.

The meeting participants also discussed a number of problems concerning economic and cultural construction in the autonomous oblast, the solutions to which cannot be postponed.

Stepanakert Situation Normalizing

LD2607131988 Moscow TASS in English 1244 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Stepanakert July 26 TASS—All the factories, transport organizations, stores and service shops in the Nagorno-Karabakh autonomous region worked for the second day today following a two-month strike.

Construction work has resumed as well.

Out of the 6,000 people employed at Stepanakert's 17 larger factories, more than 4,700 reported to work yesterday.

The figure today was even higher. More than 85 percent of the workers were on the job during the first shift.

"I believe that the work rhythm in the city will be fully restored within the next two or three days," Genrikh Pogosyan, first secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh region committee of the Communist party of Azerbaijan, said in a TASS interview.

"We won't, of course, be able to pay back all the debts resulting from the strike in the near future, but we'll try to reduce the backlog of work substantially."

Speaking of the role of the region's party organization in putting an end to the strike movement, he said that the main concern of the party activists over recent days has been to bring it home to the broad masses that the decisions of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium in many ways meet the essential demands of the population of the region and are the earnest that the further development of Nagorno-Karabakh will proceed along a new route.

"We have spoken much to convince people at worker meetings and simply in the streets and I think we've coped with our task," Pogosyan said.

Answering a question about prospects for the region's development, he said it has for a long time gone in a lopsided way.

"The region has been artificially isolated from Armenia. But now possibilities have appeared for extensive communication between the people of Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia.

"One example is the creation of a magazine-and-newspaper publishing house in Stepanakert, which will bring out publications in Armenian," the first secretary of the regional party committee said.

"It is also planned to remove disproportions in economic development and the infrastructure will be considerably improved too. The matter is that up to now some ten percent of Karabakh people have been leaving their home parts after growing up.

"So you see, we have a lot of work ahead of us, including the immediate future. We should, and I think we can, in particular, achieve a labor intensity many times higher than before."

NKAO Troop Presence Cut

PM2607181588 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by special correspondent Lieutenant Colonel N. Mulyar: "Stepanakert, 26 July"]

[Text] On Saturday nonfood stores had already begun operating, consumer service establishments had opened their doors, and minicabs had appeared in the streets. It was evident from the city inhabitants' mood that, having analyzed the situation, they had decided to end the strike and go to work Monday.

The creation of this kind of feeling in people, this psychological breakthrough was promoted to a considerable extent by the great deal of work done by obkom bureau members and party and soviet workers in the city. They went out among the masses and into the enterprises. Thus, Obkom First Secretary G. Pogosyan spoke on local television and then met with workers from the electrical equipment plant, told them about the course of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session and the essence of the decision it adopted on Nagorno-Karabakh, and answered a whole number of questions.

"To begin with," Obkom Secretary V. Atadzhanyan noted in conversation with me, "the people of Karabakh reacted suspiciously to the well-known resolution; they had no faith in it. Over the years they have been given too many promises that have not been fulfilled. In this difficult situation it was not easy for the truth to get through. It was necessary to work, explain, and inform until the inhabitants of the city understood the document which was approved, which makes it possible to accelerate the socioeconomic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast."

The silk combine is one of the biggest enterprises in Stepanakert. Around 3,000 people work here. The combine's equipment has been falling apart for a long time; it was installed back in the thirties.

"We are trying to get through to every person, to convey to everyone the truth about what is happening," R. Kocharyan, secretary of the enterprise party committee, says. "We have managed to ease people's mental tension and calm the situation. The workers have decided to start work and clear the backlog."

I also visited a number of rayons in the oblast. The normalization of the situation could be sensed everywhere. In Askeran I met with servicemen of the subunit of internal troops commanded by Lieutenant Colonel V. Tarasenko:

"We've got plenty to do apart from protecting public order. For example, we've carried out repairs to classrooms at the secondary school, built a kitchen extension, and cleaned up the yard. School Director M. Gulyan is satisfied with the servicemen's work.

"This kind of help has been assessed highly by local party and soviet organs. Many of the servicemen have been presented with valuable gifts, testimonials, and medals 'For Excellenet Service in Protecting Public Order.' The contingent of our troops is now being reduced, and the number of tasks being tackled is also declining."

Yes, everyday life in Stepanakert has changed. As the first days of the week show, the oblast's party organization is strengthening its positions among the masses, striving to mend the moral and political atmosphere, and orient the people of Karabakh toward work that is difficult but so necessary for everyone.

Envoy Arrives in Stepanakert

AU2607170888 Paris AFP in English 1655 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 26 (AFP)—A special envoy from Moscow arrived late Tuesday in Stepanakert, main town of Nagorno-Karabakh, a local party official told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Arkadiy Volskiy, head of the Central Committee's machine building department, is to organise and coordinate the party and the economic sector in Azerbaijan and Armenia, Soviet television reported on Monday.

Representatives from Armenia and Azerbaijan who are to collaborate with Mr. Volskiy, have not yet been named.

Provisions for the joint committee were made in a decree issued here on July 18 in which the Presidium of the Soviet Supreme refused to allow the disputed region of Nagorno-Karabakh to be attached to Armenia.

Regional Leaders Discuss Refugees

PM2607155988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 88 First Edition p 6

[Special correspondent G. Ovcharenko dispatch under the "Stop Press" rubric and under general heading "Tuesday, 26 July": "Yerevan"]

[Text] This morning I had an opportunity to overhear a telephone conversation between two Council of Ministers chairmen: F. Sarkisyan of the Armenian SSR and G. Seidov of the Azerbaijan SSR. The conversation was businesslike and frankly friendly. Its topic was a complex question—refugees.

These unfortunate people could be seen in the last few months in Baku, the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and the Armenian SSR's Bagramyanskiy Rayon. They often left their homes in just the clothes they were wearing, so to speak. Party and soviet officials in both republics made considerable efforts to reassure the refugees and, if possible, get them to return to their permanent residence. Many Azerbaijanis and Armenians did this.

But many preferred not to return. This applies primarily to refugees from Sumgait. Earlier they encountered numerous difficulties, but now the problems of housing, jobs, and food have been basically solved. Some labor collectives, like the workers of the "Armtransgaz" Association for example, gave up their newly built housing for the refugees. The country also helped: More than 500 prefabricated homes have been allocated to Armenia alone for immigrants. But problems still remain, of course. It is good that they are being solved jointly by the leaderships of both republics.

Meanwhile, the republic's working people continue to make up for what was lost during the strikes. According to ARMENPRESS reports, additional industrial output worth R13.7 million was produced on Saturday and Sunday. The gap created as a result of the strikes has been reduced by 19 percent.

The labor rhythm in Armenia has been restored. But the moral-psychological situation in the republic remains complex. Despite the explanatory work being done by the party and soviet aktiv, it still cannot be said that the overwhelming majority of Yerevan's residents have welcomed with understanding the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium resolution on Nagorno-Karabakh.

For example, the collective of the "Armelektrodvigatel" Association expressed disagreement with the resolution at its rally. People there insist that the Nagorno-Karabakh question be raised at the next USSR Supreme Soviet session. Similar moods prevail among a part of the creative intelligentsia and scientists.

"We are also perturbed that the press has hitherto failed to provide a political and moral assessment of the tragedy in Sumgait," S. Sarkisyan, milling machine operator at "Armelektrodvigatel," declared. "We were promised that this would be done after the trials. We are still waiting not only for the assessments, but actually for the trials themselves."

Let me note that I had already been told this at all the other enterprises which I visited.

"We will work," Saribek Aleksandrovich went on. "We must do our duty as regards output manufacture. By making up for what was lost, we will lay the foundations for solving our socioeconomic problems."

"And there are quite a few of them," V. Sanoyan, chairman of the association's trade union committee, seconded him. "Our main plant alone has 260 persons waiting for housing."

There is growing support in the republic for the initiative by workers in a number of enterprises who have decided to participate directly in Nagorno-Karabakh's socioeconomic development. For example, the labor collective council at the No 12 "Agroremstroy" Trust pledged to use its own profits to build four homes in Stepanakert of

3-4 rooms each, using standard designs. Armenian construction industry workers are going to extend the Goris-Lachin-Stepanakert freeway.

Everyone you meet nowadays is convinced: People's activeness and their national awareness must be channeled into overcoming negative phenomena in the republic and combating corruption, bribery, cliquishness, and social injustice.

A plenum of the Leninakan Armenian Communist Party Gorkom was held yesterday. Its participants brought to light the most acute and most pressing problems of the city and defined the priority tasks. The plenum relieved D. Arutyunyan of her duties as first secretary and member of the Bureau of Leninakan party gorkom. M. Mkrtchyan, hitherto first secretary of the Akhuryanksiy Armenian Communist Party Raykom, was elected to replace her.

Armenian Resolution Viewed

NC2707073388 Yerevan Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 27 Jul 88

[From the review of KOMMUNIST]

[Text] As already reported, the Armenian Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a resolution on the tasks connected with the fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium's resolution on the decisions of the Armenian and Azerbaijan Supreme Soviets on the question of Nagorno-Karabakh. The paper publishes the text of this resolution.

In the resolution the Presidium specifically points out the unsatisfactory performance on the part of local soviets of people's deputies in their work among a series of collectives of enterprises, institutions, and organizations to explain the duties and responsibilities of each collective both as a single unit and as part of the national economic complex of the country, and the inadmissibility of strikes as a means of settling state issues. The damage from strikes is calculated not only in terms of economic waste but also in terms of great moral losses.

The Armenian SSR Council of Ministers has been instructed to work out and implement a series of measures on the effective provision of assistance to the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in all spheres of sociocultural and economic life, and to systematically inform the public on the progress of the fulfillment of these measures.

Church Leader Interviewed

PM2707125988 Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Jul 88 p 4

[Report on interview with Catholicos Vazgen I of the Armenian Apostolic Church by TASS correspondents S. Staroselskiy, A. Trafimov, and E. Shakhnazaryan: "Catholicos Vazgen: Time To Rectify Past Errors"]

[Text] Yerevan—"The creation of a special commission of deputies of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities and the dispatch of a representative of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to Nagorno-Karabakh is a good idea," Vazgen the First, catholicos of all the Armenians, said.

Answering your TASS correspondents' questions just prior to his departure for a sanatorium near Moscow for a vacation, the head of the Armenian Orthodox Apostolic Church stressed that the dispatch of a representative of Moscow will make it possible to resolve questions right on the spot, to remove the causes of the discontent felt by the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh, and to satisfy their demands.

"My concern today," he said, "is that the life of the Armenian people should progress naturally and that there should be no strikes, manifestations of indiscipline, or disturbances, as I am convinced that all that could only prejudice the solution of the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. I am certain that disturbances are not necessary for the attainment of a just goal.

"Unfortunately, there were disturbances for several days. And I am pleased that what I had to say in my speech on republican television had a positive impact. It is my duty to address the people.

"I am glad that of late, particularly since the adoption of the resolution by the USSR Supreme Soviet in Moscow, strikes have ceased and the situation has gotten back to normal. Given this situation, it is to be wished that, in accordance with this decision, the demands of Karabakh Armenians will be met, positive changes in their life will take place, and people's discontent will disappear.

"I think that calm will thereby be restored everywhere. It is the duty of us all to end the wariness that developed between the Armenian and Azerbaijani peoples and restore feelings of friendship and fraternity between neighbors.

"It is now necessary to get down to that work, and it is to be hoped that it will be successful and that the problems associated with Nagorno-Karabakh will also be successfully resolved. After all, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed at the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium session, no question can be considered resolved once and for all. Every question has its own dynamics and development, and this also applies to the question of national relations.

"I urge the 2 million Armenians living abroad, who currently feel great concern over the problem of Karabakh, to display a high sense of responsibility for the fate of their people and the prosperity of our motherland—Soviet Armenia.

"The church figures as one of the number of problems. After all, until 1932 there were 18 monasteries and around 100 rural churches operating; but in the period 1929 through 1932 they were all closed down. Acceding to the wishes of the faithful, I have asked the leaders of Azerbaijan several times in the last 15-20 years, both in

writing and orally, to open 2-3 churches in Nagorno-Karabakh. But all my requests have been fruitless and quite often have not even received a reply.

"In my opinion, it is time now, when a new period is being ushered in, a period of rectification of the errors of the past, for this process to also touch upon the problems of our church."

Armenian Dissident Expelled, Sent to Ethiopia
AU2607201788 Paris AFP in English 2009 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, July 26 (AFP)—The Armenian nationalist Paruyr Ayrikyan, stripped of his Soviet citizenship last week, has been expelled to Ethiopia, a dissident writer told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE Tuesday.

Mr. Ayrikyan was jailed on March 24 for his militant nationalist Armenian politics and expelled last Thursday, Sergey Grigoryants, who runs the dissident news bulletin GLASNOST, said.

The Soviet KGB police had kept Mr. Ayrikyan in a hotel in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa for four days before allowing him out Tuesday to telephone his family in Moscow, he said.

The Armenian had also gone to the U.S. Embassy to ask for a visa for himself and his family.

Historian Afanasyev Responds to Criticism
PM2607120088 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Yu. Afanasyev plus editorial commentary under the rubric "Debating Platform": "The Historian's Answers"—first paragraph is editorial introduction; boldface as published]

[Text] "Questions to a Historian"—that was the title of an item published in PRAVDA on 25 June this year. The questions were addressed to Professor Yu.N. Afanasyev in connection with his article "Restructuring and Historical Knowledge" in LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA. After this, Yu.N. Afanasyev sent a letter to PRAVDA. We are publishing it unabridged and unedited.

[Yu. Afanasyev article] 1 July 1988—I have carefully read P. Kuznetsov's article in PRAVDA for 25 June with its "puzzling questions" addressed to me and accusations of "dubious hypotheses and sometimes downright untruths." I also find in this article the author's own views, a historico-political standpoint which P. Kuznetsov counterposes to what he considers dubious and false. There is plenty of food for thought here for me—and for every reader of the newspaper.

First. I insisted that an integrated, comprehensive approach to Soviet history is needed, and not feeble evaluations on the basis of the "on the one hand—on the other hand" principle. That is to say, "on the one hand—mass repressions and crimes, and on the other hand—daily rejoicing and records." My opponent replies that "in life, tragic repressions were interwoven with the enthusiasm of a people building socialism." There was enthusiasm, P. Kuznetsov writes—but I never had any intention of simply denying that fact—however... "it was combined with mass repressions." If "interwoven" and "combined" are only different words to express the same pattern of the "two sides" that is virtually borrowed from Shchedrin's "History of Dullsville" ["Istoriya Goroda Glupova"]—then at least I would understand what kind of logic, so to speak, is to the author's liking and who the "thoughtful readers" are whose sympathy he is counting on. But no!—he goes on to say: "It is obvious to the thoughtful reader that the division of history into good and bad history or into the history of the leaders and the masses distracts us from the analysis of real processes..." Superb! That means that at least on this point P. Kuznetsov seems to agree with me—and therefore does not agree with himself. "Repressions and enthusiasm," it turns out, did not simply coexist, were not merely "combined," but grew out of the same roots and formed a historical reality that the author acknowledges to be indivisible. Let us remember that, too.

And in that case, let us go on to the second and most important "puzzling question," which, in turn, consists of two questions: a) Is it possible to say that under Stalin and his successors a socialist society, albeit insufficiently socialist, was indeed built; b) Was there an historical alternative to "Stalinist socialism," or was Lenin, with his NEP [New Economic Policy] which was intended "seriously and for the long term," tragically mistaken—so that the result of October could not have been anything other than a bloody, dictatorial regime. My "subjective hypotheses"—and am I alone among PRAVDA's readers?—are that: a) "Despite tremendous sacrifices, we did not get socialism in the form in which Lenin and the Leninist guard envisaged it in the twenties,"—hence the need for **revolutionary**, that is, profound, structural restructuring; b) The counterrevolutionary path of Stalin and his enormous apparatus was not historically inevitable and therefore justified—hence the opportunity in the course of restructuring to build on the unrealized, curtailed, alternative economic, political, legal, and sociopsychological potential of our country and to revive Leninist principles under new conditions, conditions that are in part more favorable than in the late twenties and the thirties and in part far more difficult, because we are dealing not with the threat of the emergence of an inhuman, regimented "socialism," but with the consequences of the prolonged dominance of that system, which to this day has not been eradicated to its foundations and which is in no hurry to give way voluntarily to true socialism, that is, democratic socialism.

What is the response to this, I hope, sufficiently clear standpoint from my opponent, who so heatedly rejects any "untruths or half-truths"? His response is that, "in

using Lenin's guidelines for building socialism," "we were unable to be entirely consistent, we did not know how, and moreover external conditions did not give us that opportunity... and as a result we got a deformed socialist society." "Us," "we"... is that not charming? "We"—that means millions of prisoners under the leadership of Yagoda, Yezhov, Beriya. "Us"—that means the enslaved, robbed, unhappy peasant who was annihilated as a class under the leaderhsip of Stalin and the Stalinist "cohort." "Us"—that means the people who accomplished the great revolution and were deceived and thwarted in their enthusiasm, in their unreasoning faith, in their distrust that grew up over 60 years, in their spiritual aridity and degeneration, the long-suffering Soviet people—together with those who unrestrainedly and habitually ordered them around. Oh, Comrade P. Kuznetsov! Thank you for an explanation so far removed from anything dubious or untruthful. We must remember that Stalin repealed the NEP, turned the Bolshevik party (no, not single-handed, but as head of a whole social stratum) into an "order of knights," broke off the alliance with the peasantry, subjected the workers to regimented discipline, suppressed or destroyed the intelligentsia, and made blood and terror the foundation of the state—because he "was unable to be entirely consistent" with regard to "Lenin's guidelines"... and in fact, this "inconsistent" transformation of socialist guidelines into totalitarian and terrorist ones was historically inevitable.

If that is "inconsistency," a "deviation" justified, moreover, by "circumstances," if "we," even when we were thrown into the camps, like you, my optimistic opponent, even there "did not turn aside from the path opened up by October,"—then, for heaven's sake, what kind of idea of that path, of October, of Lenin, lies behind these incantatory formulas that are still so widespread among us?! What use are the subsequent phrases about the "bitter errors and tragic crimes of the past," phrases which nobody dares do without today—if "we" (including P. Kuznetsov) do not dare to think anything at all through to its conclusion?

But this is what I say—having absolutely no desire to "consciously leave that question unanswered—and there is no need to be afraid of this opinion, which very many of our people share: I do not consider the society we have created to be a socialist society, even a "deformed" one. These "deformations" affect its vital foundations, political system, production relations, and absolutely everything else. This conclusion is **not emasculating**, because only by arriving at this conclusion, however bitter and frightening it may sound, and only by refusing, therefore, to be satisfied with propagandist "half-truths" can we—not all the country's inhabitants, but the conscious fighters for restructuring, and in time, it must be hoped, the vast majority of the population—find in ourselves the strength, the theoretical approaches, and the appropriate political tactics to embark anew on the socialist path. Only then will our awareness and our determination for truly revolutionary restructuring become sober, realistic, and therefore encouraging. I am convinced that otherwise—through reassuring or self-interested half-truths—we can only arrive at half-measures, and then to the collapse of this, our **last** historical attempt to break out of this terrible impasse.

The grief, the anxiety, and the hope are too great in me, as they are in my fellow citizens, to waste the remaining space in this article on petty polemics with P. Kuznetsov on the numerous distortions of logic in his "Questions to a Historian." Lenin himself said in 1923 that "we are forced to acknowledge a **radical change** in our entire view of socialism" (my emphasis—Yu.A.), yet P. Kuznetsov prefers to call this an "amendment through practice" and a "reinterpretation" of former, that is, war communist ideas. The ailing Lenin was only just beginning to think about the political aspect (backup) of the "radical change," and Vladimir Ilich could not have dreamed of the post-Stalin and post-Brezhnev situation. So the **contemporary** theory of socialism (I still think, despite P. Kuznetsov) must be created **anew** with Lenin's help, not merely **sought** in his works.

Or take, for instance, P. Kuznetsov's gleeful exclamation: "Our literature already has sufficiently detailed studies showing how Stalinism and the personality cult arose, what part was played by Stalin's character, and what part was played by objective circumstances." Some 2 months ago the science of party history, in the form of corresponding member V.I. Kasyanenko, came to the conclusion that "historians do not yet have enough documents, new concepts, ideas, and assessments of periods and events to depict fully and truthfully the state of society and the party..." I regret I remain ignorant of the "detailed studies" that have rectified this situation.

But, I repeat, let us leave these scholarly debates. After all, there are not only "questions to a historian," but also "puzzling questions" to, as we commonly say, "certain" of our leading ideologists and politicians. With the greatest respect, I wish I could understand the following assertions that have recently been made "in some places." For instance: Has there really been a stepping up, recently, of the direct and challenging resistance of antirestructuring forces, as the 5 April PRAVDA editorial article stated—or has that idea been "put into our minds"? And are there differences of principle? If that is denied, if it is declared that there are no differences and the real and growing threat to restructuring (and **not** from Nina Andreyeva, but from those who were behind that modest chemistry teacher and turned her letter into a directive that was promptly taken advantage of by 30 CPSU obkoms) **has** not been stepped up—then there is no need to look for a more eloquent confirmation that both the differences and the threat **exist**: because this is a direct challenge to the aforementioned PRAVDA article (footnote) (We leave this figure—30 obkoms—to the author's conscience. It was not confirmed by the check we carried out—Editorial Office).

To continue. If the idea of the stepping up of resistance to restructuring is analogous to the Stalinist "concept" of the growth of the class struggle under socialism, then let someone (not necessarily P. Kuznetsov, although that is what he should be thinking about, rather than Yu. Afanasyev's article), let someone settle my other puzzling question: Stalin put forward his "theory" 15 years after the victory of October; did restructuring secure victory 15 years ago? And are we now dealing with the resistance of officials who retired in the early seventies? Or is there growing resistance from forces that are still actually in power and are beginning to take the threat of revolutionary transformation seriously?

And again: If "certain people" should now retire on personal pensions—would that be a return to the Stalinist terror against Leninist party cadres? Or is retirement—as distinct from hard labor and the firing squad—compatible, after all, with people's power and the normal political struggle?

And again: Have we ourselves hammered out the idea of market socialism through our entire history—or is it still a subversive idea from the USSR's enemies?

And again: If certain supposed changes for the better in our economy can be proved by citing certain percentage increases, fulfillment, and so on, and so forth, then they were reporting quite good percentages to us 5 or 10 years ago, too. But have structural reforms begun? All the same, let us answer in simple terms: Have things become even "slightly" better as regards food and industrial goods, is the people's life easier than it was 3 years ago? The "percentage increase in labor productivity" that our country's statistical service reports is no good for making borshch or wearing on your feet, otherwise we would have become a prosperous society long ago. Urgent and drastic measures are needed so that people can feel the results of restructuring for themselves, in this and in many other respects—for instance, in the explosive sphere of national relations.

P. Kuznetsov can think what he likes, but I, seeing that after 70 years of progress toward socialism (not away from it) according to "Lenin's guidelines" (in such cases the people usually interpret it this way: I wonder what the stupefied Ilich would say if he were resurrected today... and how would, say, P. Kuznetsov silence him?), seeing the rationing system in 1988 and Russians in remote areas populated by many millions of people dreaming of an adulterated cooked sausage; seeing that 35 years after Stalin's death we are only just "learning democracy" like backward 15-year-olds in the primary grades, and only achieving average grades at that; thinking about this, I would be ashamed to talk about "enforced inconsistency" and "deformations" along an invariably glorious path. Much has changed in the last 3 years—and we can no longer bear to give up hope. The hope of socialism. Of free labor, prosperity, and democracy.

There are so many questions, to historians and to politicians. And the answers are various and contentions. But I think there is something indisputable too. Namely: Whether it was socialism or "regimented socialism" (that is, "on the one hand" half in clover, "on the other hand" half in a sorry plight)—we will find out the answer to that in 10 years or 5 years from now... Either we will become a completely different country, an unrecognizably different and flourishing society... or we will continue our profound arguments about a certain "inconsistency" of socialism, without freedom and without bread and butter. But how much time will history leave us for this intoxicating casuistry?

If, after everything we have experienced, the concept of socialism is still meaningful and precious to us, then let us, Comrade Pobisk Kuznetsov and your sympathetic comrades, throw on the dustcovers and save it for a better future. Perhaps it will come in useful. [Afanasyev ends]

From the Editorial Office [subhead]

So, the questions have been asked and the answers given. Perhaps we could have left it at that and allowed the readers to judge whether the viewpoints presented are right or wrong. But the newspaper cannot remain silent on some of Professor Yu.N. Afanasyev's opinions.

To the question in P. Kuznetsov's article as to whether the society created in our country is (or was) a socialist society, Professor Afanasyev declares quite clearly and categorically: "I do not consider the society we have created to be a socialist society, even a 'deformed' one." Can Yu.N. Afanasyev have "forgotten" that in our country we have not "proclaimed," but created a socialist economic system based on social ownership of the means of production, that we have no class of exploiters and no unemployment, that from the very first steps of socialism in the USSR such features as the absence of the exploitation of man by man and the fundamentally new objectives of socioeconomic progress have been asserted and remain unchanged? This can hardly be a question of forgetfulness.

Doubtless there is no need to recall yet again that "denying the realities" is far from the best method in scientific debates, and that this approach does not meet the goals and tasks of restructuring and the revolutionary renewal of socialism that began on the initiative and under the leadership of the party. It is common knowledge that this process is not easy, that tangible changes for the better have not yet taken place everywhere, and that the revolutionary transformations have not yet become irreversible. Much remains to be done to overcome the underlying braking processes and to bring into play and in some respects develop the mechanisms of renewal. But restructuring is under way, millions of Soviet people are taking part in it, striving to invest their labor, knowledge, experience, and energy in this historic cause. The party guides and encourages truly creative

endeavor in all avenues, including the serious scientific analysis, from Marxist-Leninist standpoints, of the past, its lessons, and the tasks for today that arise from those lessons. This is the only way to achieve profound results that meet the demands of restructuring.

From Yu.N. Afanasyev's statement, and the readers' attention must be drawn to this, one can deduce his own particular views on restructuring, his claims to a special place in the interpretation of its tasks. It appears that only if we agree with his assertions and evaluations, "only then will our attention [vnimaniye; this passage in Afanasyev's article in fact has "understanding" (ponimaniye)] and our determination for truly revolutionary restructuring become sober, realistic, and therefore encouraging." He calls on us to view his statement "without fear," because, however bitter and frightening this conclusion may sound, only by refusing to be satisfied with propagandist "half-truths" can "we—not all the country's inhabitants, but the conscious fighters for restructuring, and in time, it must be hoped, the vast majority of the population—find in ourselves the strength to embark anew on the socialist path." It is not hard to see that his "platform" differs strikingly from the party assessments and conclusions elaborated collectively, with a sense of historical responsibility and on the basis of historical truth, and from the objective, dialectical picture of our achievements and failures, severe tests, and undoubted gains on the path of socialist building and its heroic and dramatic aspects. And most importantly, in this and other articles by Yu.N. Afanasyev and in his numerous speeches and interviews, where the author does not mince his words and even seems to be deliberately making them sharp and challenging, it is difficult, if it is possible at all, to find a constructive approach, a serious scientific analysis of concrete facts and documents. But, you will agree, without this, there is not and cannot be any real science or effective participation in the scientific quest in the interests of restructuring.

Yu.N. Afanasyev's second answer concerns the interpretation of the country's alternative paths of development, the choice made by the party in the late twenties. Analyzing past history in connection with the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, the party leadership gave the following answer to the question whether in those conditions, in view of the full range of domestic and international realities, it would have been possible to choose a path other than that proposed by the party: If we want to adhere to historical accuracy and the truth of life, there can be only one answer: No, it was not possible. That was the way to save the motherland from mortal danger, to save socialism for the future. At the same time there were tremendous losses along our path, grave errors and miscalculations, and unjustified repressions and crimes. Hence restructuring is understood to mean overcoming phenomena alien to the nature of socialism, renewing the socialist society, and restoring the Leninist concept of socialism in theoretical and practical terms.

This interpretation of the historical choice does not satisfy Professor Afanasyev, and he says so quite clearly. He evidently does not perceive in the country's history first and foremost the enormous creative activity of the people under the party's leadership; he regards repressions and crimes as the main distinctive feature of our development. This approach makes it impossible to see the real content of the historical process in its full, contradictory nature. And it is no accident that the party leadership, while uncovering the full gravity of Stalin's crimes, at the same time pointed to the historic significance of the people's creative activity and the vitality of the plans put forward by the party and grasped and taken up by the masses and of the slogans that expressed the revolutionary spirit of October.

On reading the article you cannot help noticing that it was written by a very angry man, that the author is prepared to number his adversary among Nina Andreyeva's supporters and attribute to him things he did not say. Why was Yu.N. Afanasyev angry? If the questions posed seemed to him to be denunciatory, as he writes, he himself had made no secret of his own views formerly, nor does he do so in the present article. Clearly the idea of restructuring as the restoration of the Leninist concept of socialism, the removal of alien accretions from the socialism that has been built, the elimination of the alienation of the working person from ownership and power, and so on, and so forth, is not to the author's liking, for some reason. Seeking to prove that it is necessary to start all over again, to create a contemporary theory of socialism anew "with Lenin's help," Yu.N. Afanasyev at the same time denies the existence of the concept of socialism in Lenin too. It is no use "merely seeking" it in Lenin's work, he says. But who today believes that Lenin's legacy must "merely" be studied mechanically, rather than in dialectical interaction with the present day?

For all his claims to objectivity and frankness, the author patently distorts some propositions in his adversary's article. Thus he states that he is accused of dubious hypotheses, and sometimes downright untruths. In reality the article in question asserts in the most general terms, not in connection with Yu.N. Afanasyev, that complex, contentious questions should be resolved on the basis of the study of facts, arguments, and practical experience. Conjectures, highly dubious hypotheses, and sometimes downright untruths and half-truths will not help. Is that not true?

And finally, on the subject of Yu.N. Afanasyev's rather venomous rejoinders to the effect that the author of the PRAVDA article speaks of the possibility of "interweaving" and "combining" enthusiasm and repressions. This is formulated incorrectly, to put it mildly, because the article was talking about something different. But the answer must be sought in history itself, in how "things were on earth." It is possible to cite a great many facts

and testimonies from contemporaries showing convincingly that millions of people did indeed join with enthusiasm in building Soviet industry and implementing socialist transformations, realizing they were involved in a great historical cause. And they worked, overcoming tremendous difficulties, including the difficulties created by the atmosphere of repressions and lawlessness, the overcentralized command-and-administer system, and various kinds of deformations and deviations from socialism, which caused the people cruel losses. Can one be ironic about the feat accomplished by the people in these highly difficult conditions, can one forget that? History is irreversible, you cannot rectify it or rework it—it is necessary to interpret it profoundly and responsibly and learn its lessons, which is what the party and people are doing today.

As for the "puzzling" questions raised by Yu.N. Afanasyev, there are answers to them. Yes, the antirestructuring forces are still active, and it is necessary to combat them vigorously. And commodity-money relations are organically inherent in socialism, and they must be utilized skillfully within the framework of planned production. And structural reforms of the economy, the political system, and the law are being carried out. Badly or well—that is another question, a question PRAVDA seeks to answer in its publications.

Slyunkov Attends Trade Workers Day Meeting

PM2607144988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "In Honor of the Holiday"]

[Text] Improving the people's prosperity depends in many respects on trade workers. Today they are faced with a crucial task: to saturate the marketplace with various goods and services in the shortest possible time. The question of what steps must be taken to practically implement this most important task was discussed at a ceremonial meeting to mark the Trade Workers Day holiday. It was held 22 July in Moscow.

In the Presidium were N.N. Slyunkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; N.A. Stashenkov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Trade and Consumer Services Department; leaders of ministries and departments, sector frontrunners, and representatives of the capital's population.

K.Z. Terekh, USSR minister of trade, spoke at the gathering.

Sakharov on Need for Intellectual Freedom

LD2607140788 Moscow World Service in English 0210 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] And now we give the floor to the outstanding Soviet scientist Dr Andrey Sakharov. Not long ago he was interviewed by a Leningrad television network [as heard], and one question concerned his recent article in a very successful book called "No Other Way", dealing with the current restructuring in this country. It might seem that Dr Sakharov's main preoccupation is restructuring in science, and that would be the most likely subject of his article. However, that is not so. Dr Sakharov:

[Begin Sakharov recording in Russian fading into English translation] I didn't dwell on perestroyka in science simply because that theme was covered by other articles included in the book. I wrote about other things, about problems connected with the freedom of opinion, about the need to free prisoners of conscience, about the need to alter legislation to rule out the possibility of persecuting people for their outlooks, about the need to change legislation to enable people to choose in what country they want to live. I also pointed to the need to reduce the time of Army service and to humanize our prison system, which in my view is too harsh, too detrimental to people's health and morality. I think it must be improved legislatively. [end recording]

Besides, I also wanted to speak about economic pluralism, Dr Sakharov went on to say. Plants and factories must be granted greater independence. Furthermore, openness must be more profound. It does develop, but it continues to be potentially under control. Moreover, I think that we need greater ideological pluralism and movement toward greater political pluralism. All this seems to me to be extremely important, and I sought to reflect many of these issues in my article.

1 Million Workers Lose Jobs Due to Reform

LD2707061888 Moscow World Service in English 1800 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] The number of workers in Soviet industries has gone down by almost 1 million in the first 6 months of this year over the same period last year. The national statistical service attributes the fact to the current economic reform, which is introducing more automatic systems and streamlining management. The workers released are sure to get new jobs, since the government has undertaken to redistribute the labor force in a planned manner.

Fund Opened for Memorial to Stalin's Victims

LD2707092488 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0859 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow, 27 Jul (TASS)—At the request of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, the USSR Social Bank has opened an account, No 700454, for the collection of funds to erect a memorial in Moscow to the victims of Stalin's repressions.

According to the paper, all readers' letters on the subject without exception say that the monument ought to be funded by donations from the people. A democratically elected public committee will administer the fund and the construction of the memorial.

Readers Deplore Conference Attacks on Press

PM2707131388 Moscow NEDELYA in Russian No 29, 18-24 Jul 88 (Signed to Press 20 Jul 88) p 2

[Readers' letter from the "Correspondence With Readers" feature]

[Text] We would like to thank the editorial office for Fedor Raskolnikov's "Letter to Stalin." This is yet another victory over Stalinshchina, over Stalin's demagoguery. It is after all no secret that there are still plenty of people who worship "the father of all the peoples" to this day. They deify him even after the publication of incontrovertible facts confirming his crimes.

Some people no longer like glasnost today. For example, we did not expect our favorite writer Yu. Bondarev to launch such attacks against the press and young people in his speech at the party conference. Yes, the press does make mistakes at times, but this is no calamity. People learn from mistakes. An apology is called for, and that is all. And if the mistake is serious, you have to take your punishment. But some comrades at the party conference called for the press to be pushed again into the pocket of servility. This would mean goodbye to glasnost. It was insulting to hear these speeches. But they were properly rebuffed.

If only socialism in our country had developed according to Lenin, so many things would have been different today.

Shaposhnikov Family, Narva

Militiamen Ignore Profiteering at Nazran Market

PM2707141988 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 Second Edition p 2

[Anatoliy Grachev "Own Correspondent's Column": "'Traditions' and the Militia"]

[Text] Nazran, Chechen-Ingush ASSR—There is in Chechen-Ingushetia a rayon center named Nazran with a population of approximately 18,000. It is very ordinary to look at. One thing is striking: People in the city "dislike" asphalted roads, which is why it is very dusty and somehow disorderly and uncomfortable here. The building development process is chaotic.

Nazran is skeptically called a republic within a republic, for it has evolved its own "customs" and "usages." Certain local residents, for example, do not know the way to the enterprises at all. They have cut themselves off from society behind strong stone walls and they have huge private plots, since land in the city is bought and sold and the profit on them goes into private pockets.

The city is famous for its market. Its fame has crossed the borders of Chechen-Ingushetia. Every Sunday people rush here not only from all over the republic but also from all ends of the North Caucasus. The thing is that it is possible to buy here everything your heart desires.

I too have visited Nazran market. The overt, quite unimpeded speculation is striking. Private persons sell caviar, instant coffee, condensed milk, butter, olive oil, tea, cookies, boxed candies, chewing gum, scarce medicines, car spare parts, and so forth. Everything is in neat factory and plant packaging, that is, they are not homemade goods and cannot be called surplus own produce, whose sale is permitted in the market. And everything is being sold at triple the price. This is the firm going rate here, also according to the Nazran "tradition."

Militiamen stroll among the rows, as though guarding glib speculators and preserving their tranquility. This is what A. Terkakiyev, director of this so-called "kolkhoz market," told me:

"Strange things happen here. I go up to a militiaman, take him almost by the hand, lead him over to speculators, and say: 'Take measures.' The militiaman accompanies them to his room and draws up a report—all as prescribed. But the next Sunday the 'arrestees' reappear in their places. I do not know how they arrange things with the militia. I have heard that officially they get off with small fines, but unofficially... Militiamen do not bother the speculators at all unless I point them out to them. How is this to be understood? If one or two were punished properly and this were published in the newspaper, the rest, you see, would take care not to be so unrestrained."

The day I visited the market, employees of the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department arrived there from the city of Groznyy. The group from the capital headed by L. Idrazov arrested two women speculators—Yelena Vasilyevna Albegova from the city of Ordzhonikidze, who works in the housing operation section of North Osetia's "Agropromstroy," and Khanifa Sultanovna Malsagova, watchman for "Vodokanal." Both at once "disowned" the illegal goods—condensed milk, imported cookies, boxed candies, factory packets of chewing gum: They said that they were not their goods and that good acquaintances had asked them to sell them. And the employees of the Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Department without demur struck out "other people's" [allusion obscure] from the report. Thus, these very experienced dealers got off with a slight fright.

The so-called secondhand market occupies the other half of the market. Here there are only "imported," "trade name" goods. Why do we not see such goods in the stores? It turns out that they come here straight from the base, in fine packaging and with the label. The prices are staggering, and you cannot help asking again, but really astronomic figures are clearly repeated to you.

How all this depraves people, particularly young people! For young men and women travel here from all over the North Caucasus in the hope of acquiring just anything. I could not help overhearing a conversation between two girls:

"Such dresses, suits, raincoats, boots, shoes—simply stunning!" one said.

"But you have to get the money to have this, dear," the other answered. And then she added in a fit of pique: "On the whole, a bomb should be dropped on these speculators. They have joined up with the commercial mafia, and now it seems you can't touch them..."

In general, Nazran lives according to its own "rules." It is useless talking seriously about them in the party raykom, the rayispolkom, and the law-enforcement organs. Although, to listen to the Nazran leaders, restructuring here is already almost complete...

'Learning Democracy' Program on Internal Affairs

LD1607092288 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1325 GMT on 13 July carries a 50-minute edition of the "We Are Learning Democracy" program devoted to a meeting of journalists and internal affairs officials held at the conference hall of the Collegium of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

In his opening statement, A.V. Vlasov, USSR minister of internal affairs, says that from 1987 until now 20 news conferences and briefings and 12 meetings at the editorial offices of central newspapers have been held. He expresses the hope that this cooperation with the media will yield positive results.

Answering a question about how free the ministry's staff are to give interviews, Vlasov says that there are no restrictions in this area. Asked about his attitude toward the fact that too many establishments, such as Moscow State University, the editorial offices of newspapers, or raykoms are guarded by militia and that the numbers of the militia need to be reduced, Vlasov says that the numbers of the militia are less than in prerevolutionary Russia. It is true that the numbers of militiamen are greater in Moscow than elsewhere.

N.N. Chetverikov, secretary of the USSR Union of Journalists, asks about the situation regarding the large number of demonstrations recently in Moscow by groupings, including those of a nationalist persuasion. In reply P.S. Bogdanov, chief of the Main Internal Affairs Directorate of the Moscow Gorispolkom, says: "Yes, comrades, in Moscow there are a very large number of undertakings connected with demonstrations by—well, what are they to be called—in everyday usage we have grown accustomed to call them informal organizations. Obviously they are organizations that have been gathering and are being set up on the wave of democracy and glasnost. They do have their own demands, claims, and so on. Well, regarding work with these different demonstrations; outside the Lenin Library there was a gathering of so-called refuseniks. In all there were just 40 people. But even prior to their approach there had been over 60 foreign correspondents, and 40 of them were equipped with video cameras. The people were surrounded by a dense circle, and for ½ an hour they were filming various conversations including one with me.

"A group of five Americans with accreditation cards addressed me and asked for my view. How was one to understand it? Earlier there had been similar undertakings and the militia had put the people on buses and taken them off somewhere, and so on. Now what is happening with you, they asked. Look, they said, the people are even blocking traffic and you are taking no measures. We gave an explanation to these gentlemen to the effect that yes there had indeed been such phenomena in the past, but now we are learning democracy and are providing an opportunity for people to express their views. At the same time we aldo declared that under no circumstance will we allow infringements of public order.

"Yesterday such a possibility was already developing. Many citizens—residents of our city and visitors to our city—were indignant that the passageway to and from the metro had been closed off. It was a considerably larger demonstration. It was on Tverskoy Bulvar near Pushkinskaya Ploshchad. About 700 defenders of ecology had assembled. There were over 50 banners."

N.D. Bodnaruk, an IZVESTIYA journalist and a member of the Bureau on Ethics and Law of the USSR Union of Journalists, asks a question about corrective labor colonies. He says: "Aleksandr Vladimirovich, you have mentioned here one of the zones that is closed to criticism. Unfortunately it is in effect also closed for glasnost. It concerns the corrective labor establishments. They contain a vast number of people. The people are themselves to blame for this, let us hope, but the conditions in which they are being kept cannot fail to evoke alarm and some pondering among the people who are, so to speak, on the outside. What do you think we and you should do, and when will this zone be fairly accessible for the whole people, because it is altogether a disease affecting the people and, if not a disease, it is a nationwide problem?"

I.G. Sizov, USSR first deputy minister of internal affairs, says in reply: "You know, the main thing at the present time in the view of the USSR Ministry of

Internal Affairs is undoubtedly a maximum of effort to reeducate the Soviet citizen and citizen of our homeland who is located behind the enclosing fence and who, because of some or other crime or law infringement, finds himself at present within the system of corrective establishments. Therefore, the main task on which we are now engaged is to help this citizen in every way—and I will speak later about all the ways—so that he can embark as quickly as possible on the path of an honest life, enter into our society as a citizen with full rights, and be able to participate in the very vast work of restructuring all of our country's sociopolitical and economic life.

"What then are the main issues in reeducation work? Firstly there is undoubtedly participation in work. There is also, comrades, the question of observance of a regime. Dear comrades, you and I are very well aware that inside these corrective establishments the people are by no means all convicted innocents. The establishments contain tens of thousands of murderers and tens of thousands of robbers. Therefore, if one is speaking of our concerns, then our concern, above all, is to adopt a different approach to the process of reeducation and to emphatically dissociate ourselves from all the old ways and dissociate ourselves from those grave times when illegal actions were carried out. Many examples and facts are known from the press and from our country's history."

Sizov continues: "I can tell you, comrades, that since 1985 the number of convicted persons in corrective establishments has been steadfastly falling. Indeed, I would say that the number has been falling sharply. If you like I will give you a specific example. During all of 1987 and the first 4 months of this year the number of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs corrective labor establishments dropped by a little over 30 percent. In the course of the last few months we have closed down 42 colonies, or as we say 42 corrective labor establishments. We have closed them down.

"Now regarding the conditions of detention. What comprises the restructuring of the system of corrective establishments? Our main concept is definitely to enhance the effectiveness of reeduction. There is also the pivotal question of socialist legality. There is also the removal of all vestiges of the past and of a negligent attitude to people. The notion comprises not just a struggle for the observance of socialist legality but also a resolute removal of those involved in such infringements."

Vlasov then speaks: "Summing up Comrade Sizov's reply, I would say that in regard to all types of colony and regimes that exist at present, specific proposals have already been prepared to humanize the entire corrective process and at the same time to stiffen the regime for particular recidivists. That is to say that we will differentiate our work as follows. We will stiffen the regime for particularly dangerous criminals and humanize it, so to speak, for first-time criminals with a complete set and selection of norms and regulations common to the whole of mankind.

"At present we still have layers that have not been upturned. It is really awful talking about them. Here is a specific example. Those deprived of their liberty for 10-15 years are entitled to subscribe to newspapers. Their bed linen is changed every 7 days. They are entitled to a selection of products in the shop. In a word all the norms apply depending on their regime. However, when a person is put into an isolation cell during investigation or put into an administrative isolation cell and given 10-15 days, the person is deprived of everything. He cannot telephone, he cannot read. He is not provided with a pillow, or a blanket or a mattress. He lies on boards. Surely this is not all right. No, it isn't. We are just getting down to all this, but this cannot be resolved quickly, because a legal basis is required on each issue. It is necessary to change legislation and prepare new decrees. This is a slow business. So all these problems are being worked upon at present. The program of action has been clearly defined."

The meeting continues with I.A. Bondarenko, secretary of the Moscow organization of the USSR Union of Journalists, expressing the view that the militia hinder journalists in their work.

Yu.V. Feofanov of IZVESTIYA stresses the need for the militiaman to be not only the defender of the state's interests but also the defender of the individual's rights.

A.A. Mostovoy of SOVETSKAYA KULTURA speaks of the opposition between journalists and the militia. He had been aware of this when he wrote on the subject of drug addiction.

Minister Vlasov recalls that the Ministry of Internal Affairs has been an area closed to criticism. This fact remains in the consciousness of the militia, who are, however, learning to adopt a correct attitude toward critical remarks and articles.

A.V. Anikiyev, chief of the Political Directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, praises the value of critical articles in the press about the work of the internal affairs bodies. He says that the shortcomings among internal affairs workers are, to some extent, the result of the insufficiently high educational standards of the workers. "In this connection," he says, "a program has now been drawn up to improve this moral and ethical training work. We are introducing special courses at educational establishments. Where they have already been in existence, we are intensifying them." Particular attention is being paid to the moral training of those militia workers coming into contact with the public.

S.Ye. Adamov of YUNOST magazine asks about militia relations with cooperatives. In reply N.I. Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, notes that certain negative aspects have arisen in connection with cooperatives' activities. Vlasov adds that many legal aspects concerning the work of the cooperatives have not been finalized yet. However, they must not serve as a channel for speculation or for the embezzlement of state property.

Yu.A. Rozenbaum of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences speaks of the need for access to accurate statistics. Vlasov says there is now no obstacle to the provision of statistics.

A.A. Levitov, member of the Committee of Men of Letters, says that only the internal affairs bodies themselves are in a position to uncover dishonest activities among their workers. However, from press material the public often receives the mistaken view that the militia include villains who are being exposed by the journalists. There is a need to be seen to be in step on this, because reading the material in the press the average Muscovite or Magadan inhabitant is fearful of the militia.

Vlasov closes the meeting by thanking those who have taken part in it. He says that the internal affairs workers await fresh material from the journalists—material of a critical nature, of course. This will help to solve their common task more efficiently.

Defects in Formulating Legislation Viewed

PM1807084588 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 28, 9-15 Jul (Signed to Press 7 Jul 88) pp 5, 6

[Interview with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor V.M. Savitskiy, chief of the Socialist Legality Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute, by correspondent V. Voronetskiy: "The Difficult Path to New Laws. Democratization of the Legislative Process on the Agenda"—date an dplace not given; first two paragraphs are ARGUMENTY I FAKTY introduction]

[Text] The 19th all-union party conference emphasized once more: The renewal of our life is impossible without legal support. The deepening of democratization and questions of glasnost, of citizens' rights and obligations, and of freedom of conscience demand legislative support.

The development of this process is the topic of our correspondent's conversation with Doctor of Juridical Sciences Professor V.M. Savitskiy, chief of the Socialist Legality Department of the USSR Academy of Sciences State and Law Institute.

Correspondent: Valeriy Mikhaylovich, our editorial mailbag contains numerous letters about citizens' experiences of violations of socialist legality. Readers ask: What is the explanation for the slow introduction of democratic principles in the legal system?

Savitskiy: This is not a simple question. There are more than sufficient grounds to ask it. Violations of socialist legality are being overcome more slowly than we would like. But measures are being taken to switch the legal system as swiftly as possible onto the tracks of democratization, glasnost, and humanitarianism. This in particular is said in the 19th party conference resolution.

Work is being done at present on the elaboration of new criminal legislation and laws on glasnost and the press. Drafts are being prepared of legislative acts concerning judicial reform (on the investigative apparatus, attorneys, the enhancement of the court's role in the life of society, and others). At the same time, we are repealing and revising a large number of departmental normative acts and instructions which, like chains, used to fetter the creative initiative and independence of economic managers and labor collectives and acted as brakes along the path of the development of our economy and our social sphere.

Correspondent: Why is this work still progressing slowly?

Savitskiy: This is not an easy task. And even the preparation of new laws cannot be hurried. Let me say by way of example that there have been more than 300 amendments and additions to the RSFSR Criminal Code which has been in force since 1961. Some of its articles have been changed three or four times. The situation is approximately the same as regards the administration of justice—the RSFSR Criminal Procedure Code is all covered in "patches" which were applied at different times and for different reasons and often contradict one another. This testifies to the inadequacy of many of the initial formulations. But of course, the elaboration of new laws should not be delayed, either.

Correspondent: What in your view are the brakes on the legislation process?

Savitskiy: One of the brakes, possibly the main one, is that our country lacks clear-cut standard rules for the preparation of draft legislative acts.

We all know how many sensible proposals regarding the improvement of current laws have been published in our press, and especially recently. But do these proposals reach the legislators, do they know about them? Unfortunately, this is not certain. At best, some of these proposals end up in the card index of the USSR Ministry of Justice All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Soviet Legislation and, more often than not, remain

there. Many states in the world have standard rules for the preparation of legislative acts. But in our country a draft version of these rules has been doing the rounds of offices for years now....

Another, and equally dangerous brake is to be found in the actual "kitchen" where laws are made. A more or less finished draft appears "from nowhere." When discussing it, scientists and practitioners have no idea what was there at the very beginning, what concept of the law was adopted as the basis, which departments and who in particular played a part in preparing the draft, and what stance they all took—all this is "not for publication."

There are numerous obstacles at the next stage. Commission members work on the draft from early morning until late at night, argue until they are hoarse, examine almost with a magnifying glass every norm proposed by the legal act, argue, persuade, insist.... And when the law appears, it is almost unrecognizable: Complex provisions have been erased "for clarity," contentious issues have been smoothed over, and the only norm that is left out of the several alternatives is the one that most rigidly curbs the rights of the individual. It is disappointing. At the last stage of work some "functionary" who always remains anonymous has deleted something from the draft by a stroke of his pen and has substituted something else.

It is clear that this kind of procedure for preparing laws is far removed from democracy. It must be amended, it must be rendered public [glasnaya], honest, and competitive [sostyazatelnaya]. According to our constitution, lawmaking is the function of the USSR Supreme Soviet and its Presidium. But the party organs' desire to cover everything and everybody has not bypassed this sphere, either. Officials from the juridical subdivisions of the Supreme Soviet Presidium apparatus, where the most experienced jurists are concentrated, are left with nothing more to do than put the finishing touches to legislation that is already prepared. As a matter of fact, in private conversations they say about themselves with anguish and pain: "We are nothing but polishers...." I think that, following the 19th party conference, there will be a clear definition of the dividing line between party and state work in this exceptionally important sphere.

Correspondent: As a rule, draft laws spend a long time being prepared. What is the explanation for the fact that quite a few shortcomings and ambiguities come to light even after they are adopted? The editorial office receives letters whose writers criticize in particular some provisions of the Law on the Procedure for Appeals to the Court Against Unlawful Actions by Officials Infringing Citizens' Rights, the Decree on Anonymous Letters....

Savitskiy: I think that this criticism is justified. There has not been a single legal document in the last few years whose birth was as protracted and as painful as that of the Law on Appeals to the Court Against Actions by Officials Infringing Citizens' Rights. Its path was blocked by the mighty bastions of old habits and departmental ambitions, cemented by fear "in case something goes wrong."

Nobody wanted to openly and bluntly say that citizens' rights were about to be sacrificed for the sake of officialdom's tranquility. But this did happen. The law proved almost ineffective. It says, for example, that collegial decisions by officials are not subject to control by the court. This means that if you wish to appeal to the court against, say, the chief of a rayon social security department who has notified you of refusal to grant you a pension, the complaint will not be examined. Even though the paper has been signed by the chief of the rayon social security department, the decision was not made by him alone but by a commission.

Article 58, which provided for the publication of such a law, essentially remained dead for 10 years. And now that it has been finally adopted, it appears that it will be unable to protect someone who is encountering unlawful barriers when it comes to being placed on a waiting list for the allocation or improvement of housing, whose pension is being reduced, or who is refused permission for structural modifications to his apartment. Since all these vitally important decisions are made collegially in our country, any appeals against them can be filed, just as before, only through administrative channels.

Nor does the law apply to cases of unlawful dismissal for many categories of employees who are today part of the so-called "nomenklatura."

I believe that there are no constitutional grounds to prohibit appeals to the court against collegial actions. The law must be given its original meaning—to be a guarantor for working people and not a toy for bureaucrats.

Correspondent: In this context, the Decree on Anonymous Letters is obviously even more vulnerable. Readers ask why this legislative act, so important in the age of glasnost, was adopted "anonymously"—without publication of its draft, without a broad discussion by specialists.

Savitskiy: I believe that the draft decree should definitely have been discussed beforehand. It does contain dubious provisions. For example, the requirement to notify one's home address and place of work in letters and complaints. Furthermore, the decree does not strictly prohibit the transmission of complaints to the actual persons and departments against whom a citizen is complaining. And yet this is done very often.

Anonymous letters are certainly an evil. And they must be combatted. But even anonymous letters can be different. I agree with those comrades who believe that it is necessary to differentiate between malicious, envious,

and groundless anonymous letters by unidentified persons and letters from people who are desperate in their struggle against some bureaucrat. Such letters are also often unsigned and can be formally classed as anonymous, but they do merit attention.

Unfortunately, we still come across instances of persecution for criticism, as is proved by numerous press reports. We lacked in the past and we still lack reliable guarantees that someone who rebels against a scoundrel boss, a major financial swindle, or other injustice will obtain justice, that he will not be denied promotion or fired on some suitable pretext. There are many such cases but, despite the provisions of Article 139 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, there have been hardly any trials of suppressors of criticism. Therefore, anyone writing a complaint would think twice whether to sign it or to remain anonymous.

There was evidently no reason for not including in the decree a provision to preserve, should the writer wish, the confidentiality of his signature during future inspection or investigation of his letter. This must be stipulated, thus giving people the right to protection. The absence of this stipulation only plays into the bureaucrats' hands.

Correspondent: Could these and other shortcomings be avoided if draft laws were subject to nationwide discussion?

Savitskiy: I think so. But it cannot be said that draft laws in our country are not subject to nationwide approval. Quite recently we all discussed the draft laws on the state enterprise and the cooperative system. But the decision as to which draft to submit to preliminary discussion by the people and which to submit directly to a Supreme Soviet session is, in my view, not always substantiated.

The Law on Nationwide Discussion of Important Questions of State Life which, incidentally, was also adopted last year without asking the broad public's opinion, should more accurately formulate the criteria that determine when a nationwide discussion of a draft is absolutely necessary and mandatory. Otherwise we will continue to come across instances of voluntarist concealment of "inconvenient" draft laws from broad public monitoring.

Democracy and law are an indivisible whole, they mutually protect and support each other. And this alloy must be totally accepted by the socialist state based on the rule of law whose creation, as the 19th party conference emphasized, is our paramount task.

Official on Elections to Soviet, Party Positions

LD2207165188 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Jul 88

[Text] In the reform of the political system that was worked out by the 19th All-Union CPSU conference, one of the central issues is the strengthening of the power of the soviets of people's deputies. As is known, the question of combining the post of first secretary of the party committee and chairman of the soviet was, in particular, widely discussed by the delegaties. The matter is taken up in an interview given to our correspondent Olga Vasilenko by Doctor of Law Konstantin Filippovich Sheremet, editor-in-chief of the journal GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO and a deputy of the Moscow Soviet.

[Begin recording] [Sheremet] My viewpoint is that, basically, the correct measure will be a political measure that will ensure the accomplishment of the tasks determined by our reform of the political system. But it seems to me that, as it argues for it, widely advertises it, and tries to persuade public opinion of the need for such a measure, today's press is, as I see it, adopting a somewhat one-sided approach.

In what does that one-sidedness consist? Yes, of course, the merging of the post of chairman is very important. Yes, of course, we must prepare deputies so that that measure is perceived as an objective necessity for the development of political relations as a result of the reform of the political system. But we are absolutely forgetting that this is not the preparation of an armchair, but a political measure. The people who are to occupy the post of chairman have to be trained for it, and should be training for it right now. they must prove that it is not only because they hold a political post that they have, as it were, some claim to the post of chairman of the soviet, but also because they are democratic, they know the work of the soviet, they are able to work with the deputies, they know the democratic machinery of the soviets, they understand soviet work, and they understand how democratic institutions function, since the microclimate of a bureau meeting and the microclimate of a session are quite different.

It would also seem to me that these political leaders at the town and rayon level must now more actively prove themselves in the work of the soviets. They are all deputies of soviets. They are members of executive committees. And the conference decisions are probably aimed not only at those who will vote for them to be chairmen, but also at those who will run as candidates for the post. And conclusions should be drawn both by those who will vote and by those who will be the candidates. Very serious conclusions, since the process of democratization, the creation of the presidium of the soviet, and the election of the chairman of the soviet represent a deepening of democratic principles.

[Vasilenko] You talk about the demands made of those who will be standing. But there will only be one candidate for the post of chairman—the first secretary. So here, as it were, how are we to deal with the problem of appointment by election [vybornost]?

[Sheremet] Yes, yes, yes. Perhaps here too I will give you an untraditional answer. I personally do not equate the quantity of democracy with the number of candidates. That is my conviction. This applies both to the effectiveness of democratic institutions and to the electoral campaign. Maybe here I'm running somewhat counter to the generally accepted ideas. Yes, of course, it's a good thing when there are, as it were, alternative candidates. It's no bad thing. There is a measure of choice. But I don't see anything bad in there being just one good candidate, who is suitable for the post, as they say, in all respects and through all his qualities. There is nothing undemocratic here because he will have to pass through secret balloting.

[Vasilenko] So the future chairman of the soviet will pass through a sort of double check, right? Double elections: party and soviet?

[Sheremet] Yes, but they are elections, each of which is, as it were, within its own system. Party elections, on the one hand, and, on the other, of course—since it is a question of new functions within the state system—here too there should be a certain vote of confidence. [end recording]

Pyadyshev on Debate in Foreign Policy Magazine

LD1707033688 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 16 Jul 88

[Interview with Boris Pyadyshev, member of the Collegium of the USSR Foreign Ministry and editor in chief of MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN, by unidentified correspondent on the "120 minutes" program; date and place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Pydyshev] Well, I hope that from now on MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN will find its way into your hands and into the hands of our other readers more often. Restructuring has finally reached this magazine as well. Recently—or, to be more precise, since last April when the Foreign Ministry became the magazine's co-publisher—a few things have changed here, to say nothing of the appearance which has become more stylish. But the main thing is its contents, of course. [passage omitted]

The issue opens with a good—I would say, a good quality—very good article by Soviert Foreign Minister Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze. It is not very often that a minister publishes articles. As far as I remember, in fact, this is the first article. It is a very good, clear-cut, profound article which in a way takes its cue from what was said on foreign policy issues at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference.

The greatest anguish for our foreign policy and our people alike is Afghanistan, and in this issue of the magazine we are carrying an article by writer Aleksandr Prokhanov which is called exactly that: "Afghanistan." In my view, it is the best we have ever published on Afghan affairs.

It explains how we found ourselves there; it contains very precise and subtle observations concerning what is going on in Afghanistan at the moment and what will happen when Soviet troops leave it. I would very much recommend that article. [passage omitted]

From among the articles of interest, I would single out the article by two young scholars from the USA and Canada Institute, Izyumov and Korunov, entitled "The Soviet Union in a Changing World." It gives a very mature account of where we went wrong in the past—or where we were not entirely correct—and what the options are for getting out of the complex political situation where we find ourselves.

[Correspondent] So, it appears that some debate is emerging in the pages of the magazine?

[Pyadyshev] That is our main guidance now. The task is not to engage in propaganda or education, but to offer some options, multiple options for political activities. In other words, we are trying to conduct our affairs in such a way as to render specific help to our diplomacy, our foreign policymaking, to find venues for making correct decisions. It is where we see the direct application of glasnost in foreign policies. We do speak a lot about glasnost, but it has not quite reached foreign policymaking as yet. The most important principle to guide us both in international journalism and in practice is to see where the basic foreign policy interests of Russia lies. Until recently, our foreign policymaking was in quite a difficult situation. When our new leadership, headed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, assumed leadership of the country and the party, you will agree if I say that the foreign policy boundaries of our power were stretched beyond any measure. The Soviet Union's foreign policies were extremely unprofitable.

Here is a simple fact: Only last year, for the first time in the history of the Soviet Union's foreign policies, the Soviet foreign minister made the first visit to the Asia-Pacific region and Latin America. How can we conduct foreign policy in that way? Foreign policy should be profitable, not ruinous for our domestic affairs. It should be useful, naturally with the unconditional provision that security of our borders and the defense capability of our allies are ensured reliably and absolutely.

That is, above all, our guiding principle in the magazine when we select articles and authors. [passage omitted]

Apart from that, I would like to draw your attention to the fact that in MEZHDUNARODNAYA ZHIZN we enjoy what I would describe as a unique right to invite

contributions from foreign authors and foreign political and diplomatic figures. Every issue of our magazine has the general heading "Leaders of World Diplomacy." This issue contains an article by Norwegian Foreign Minister Stoltenberg. The August issue will include a contribution by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz. We also have an exclusive, as they say article for our magazine by UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar—in other words, from one issue to another our reader is able to obtain or to get acquainted with firsthand information on diplomatic and foreign policy activities.

[Correspondent] And in this issue you also have an article by Lord Callaghan and the Austrian ambassador.

[Pyadyshev] That is right. In every issue we have, I think, a very interesting section: "The Moscow Diplomatic Corps," where we publish articles by the ambassadors who are accredited here. [passage omitted]

Alcoholism, Leningrad Shortages Discussed

OW2407103288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0915 GMT 8 Jul 88

[From "The Readers Conference" program]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Unidentified woman addressing Shmelev, staff member at the United States of America and Canada Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, identified by screen caption] I would like to ask you a question that is related to your article in the fourth issue of NOVYY MIR magazine. I like the article very much, but there is a thesis that raises questions and I would like to ask them. The first question: You dealt with the inefficiency of the antialcohol measures in our country. You said in the article that alcohol consumption has not been reduced. This is a very serious statement, and I would like to know what it is based on. I know that the production of alcoholic beverages was reduced, from the experience of my own family and the people around me, I know that people drink less. Where did you get your data from? Have you any statistical data?

[Shmelev] Unintentionally, a line came to my mind: A deception that elevates us is dearer to us than multitudes of low truisms. I quoted correctly, did not I? We would very much like to live in an illusionary world. If life does not coincide with our illusions, we become offended and demand that life change. If you desire proof so much, I read it somewhere and I have a clipping, I think it is from last year's SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA, if I am right. It is said that, according to the estimate done by a competent research organization, alcohol consumption per capita in our country was not reduced in the last 2 years. One can also do the calculations oneself—to calculate the official data for alcoholic beverages, to make a rough estimate for the increase in sugar consumption and the yield of homemade brews [samogan] from this sugar, add some for the alcoholic ingredients [tomatovka and taburetovka—the latter indicates methyl alcohol], and other similar things. This will give you the same 15-16 liters per capita, if not 17; from 15 to 17 liters. This is the level we have been maintaining since the mid-seventies. It is an illusion that alcohol consumption was reduced. Unfortunately, its consumption turned to a barbarian path. Instead of consuming the reasonable state-made alcohol, which is a poison as well, they turned to home-made liquors. Only the proportion changed. They used to consume two-thirds of the state-made alcohol and one-third of home-brewed alcohol; now the proportion has been reversed, approximately.

Well, we can pronounce incantations and condemnations, we can teach dogs to sniff for the places where they brew their samogan, we can mobilize the entire militia—all this is hopeless. No force and no decree can fight this: when the whole country brews samogan, it is above anyone's strength. There is only one way to fight this and this is the economical method.

By no means am I underestimating the horrible problem of alcoholism. I am one of those who first started to write openly about this, you may remember my article. It is terrible, we are degenerating.

[Unidentified speaker introduces Leningrad poet L. Gavrilov]

[Gavrilov] The matter lies in the fact that lines to buy salt, matches, and soap appeared in Leningrad. I should tell you a story that is circulating in the city. A woman came to a store and addressed the line. She said: Leningraders, do not let them humiliate you. Do you not understand that those who spead those rumors that salt, matches, and soap would disappear, are now laughing at you? What are you doing? Come to your senses. The line did not move. [passage omitted]

Kazakhstan's Nazarbayev on Economic Development

LD2607104088 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0425 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Alma-Ata, 26 Jul (TASS)—Kazakhstan is successfully implementing a large-scale program to technically requip heavy industry. This Soviet Asian republic, with a population of more than 16 million, has reconstructed more than 100 machine-building, iron and steel, chemical, and ore-extraction industry enterprises since the start of the current 5-year plan. "As a result of implementing this program," Nursultan Nazarbayev, Kazakhstan Council of Minister chairman noted in conversation with a TASS correspondent, the rate of growth in industrial production, compared with the same period in the 5-year plan, has almost doubled. Thanks to this, we have been able to increase deliveries of output to the domestic market and to a number of foreign countries."

In Kazakhstan, the head of the republic's government said, new forms of combining science with practice are being introduced. Major organizational structures of the

national economy have been created, such as state production associations operating on principles of financial autonomy and self-financing. Their sphere of activity covers the entire cycle "science—development—investment—production—sales—service."

Speaking of the prospects for developing the Kazakhstan economy, Nursultan Nazarbayev said that the setting up of new science-intensive enterprises is envisaged, particularly in high-efficient manufacturing in the machine-building, light, food, meat, and milk industries.

The head of the republic's government stressed that the entire package of decisions by the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference, to which he was a delegate, is aimed at efficiently conducting economic reform and at making it more widespread. He noted that setting up new management organization structures has become a very important aspect of the restructuring of Kazakhastan's economy. A 50 percent reduction in management apparatus phased over 2 years is being carried out, while already the number of ministries and departments in Kazakhstan has been reduced by one third.

Moldavian Party Views Food Program Shortfalls

LD2307121088 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1100 GMT 23 Jul 88

[Text] The work of the republican party organization to implement the Food Program and measures to improve food supplies to the population in light of the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference requirements were discussed today at a plenum of the Moldavian Communist Party Central Committee. Comrade Grossu, first secretary of the republic's Communist Party Central Committee and those who spoke in the debates were unanimous: the Central Comittee Buro, the gorkoms, the raykoms, the gosagroprom, local soviet, and economic bodies have not come up with the necessary scale and pace of restructuring in developing the agro-industrial complex. It has not been possible everywhere to eliminate the braking mechanism and to overcome features of stagnation, to implement a sharp turnabout in raising the efficiency of using the potential created, and dealing with social and political-educative tasks in rural locations.

Over 2 years, many million rubles' worth of agricultural output has not be received. The gorkoms and raykoms are faced with tasks to create an atmosphere that does not tolerate elements of stagnation, loss-making production management, or failure to meet Food Program targets.

Lithuanian AES Fire 'Belatedly Reported'

LD2607133788 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Text] The Lithuanian telegramm agency, ELTA, has belatedly reported about a fire that broke out last Wednesday [20 July] at the Ignalina atomic power station in eastern Lithuania.

The station's management announced that electric power cables caught fire in one of the corridors of the first energy block. The fire was caused, it is believed, by a short circuit in the cables of a welding unit. As the fire did not spread, it was put out in about an hour's time. The fire is reported to have caused damage amounting to nearly R1.5 thousand.

The Lithuanian official organ daily TIESA is very critical of the fire at the Ignalina atomic power station. The mayor of Ignalina, writes the daily, expressed indignation at the reluctance of the station's management to inform the local population about the accident without delay.

[Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 0000 GMT on 26 July carries an identical report, with the following additional sentence at the end of paragraph two: "There were no cables feeding the technological systems in the center of the fire at the nuclear power station."]

Sea Pollution Closes Beach Resorts to Swimming

LD2607091088 Moscow Dometic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Unidentified correspondent's telephone interview with Anatoliy Ivanovich Zaychenko, deputy chief of the Sanitary-Epidemiological Main Administration of the USSR Ministry of Health; date not give—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent] Anatoliy Ivanovich, swimming has been banned at many seaside resorts this year. The coast is so polluted that swimming is dangerous to one's health. The Azov coast has been closed to swimming. Everyone knows that the Riga coast has also been closed. Where is it possible to take one's vacation by the sea this year and swim with one's children?

[Zaychenko] Unfortunately the situation that has arisen this year is not a new one: There was a similar situation in 1987. Beaches were forbidden to operate in Klaipeda—four beaches—in Palanga, Tallin, Odessa, the resorts of Saki, and a number of others. This year the situation has deteriorated even further. The country's sanitary and epidemiological services have been obliged to close down the operation of beaches in Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, and the Ukraine, particularly in Parnu, Klaipeda, Palanga, Jurmala, Odessa, Sukhumi, Poti, and Batumi. Bathing is not recommended on a number of beaches in the far east, particularly in Vladivostok.

Why is this? First, a part has been played here by the weather conditions. This year the summer has been hot, the water has been getting warm, which encourages the development of microorganisms, including those which cause typhoid, paratyphoids, dysentery, salmonellosis, enteroviral infections, and so on. Unfortunately, a progressive deterioration of the sanitary situation is being observed in all the country's seaside resort areas.

Why has this taken place? First, it is thanks to irresponsible attitudes on the part of those in charge of construction and industrial enterprises, and also organizations providing services where there are links with issues concerning the construction and operation of cleansing facilities. Of course, the saddest thing is that all our warning signals remain, unfortunately, as a voice crying in the wilderness, as it were. Let me give just one figure: From 1982 to 1987 inclusive, the sanitary and epidemiologicl service of Odessa issued 64 reports containing specific proposals for correcting what is literally a very serious situation with the Odessa beaches. Nevertheless, nothing was done. The sanitary and epidemiological service was obliged to resort to the most extreme measure, and ban the operation of the beaches because bathing in the sea is not safe as far as a person's health is concerned.

We are now preparing normative documents that would sharply raise the significance of the sanitary legislation. Unfortunately, at present our penalties are limited to a totally insignificant sum.

[Correspondent] Do you not have the right to close down enterprises?

[Zaychenko] The way to rectify this situation is not to close down enterprises, but to carry out intensive work to construct cleansing facilities and operate them correctly. Today, sea water and the sanitary state on the coast is under constant surveillance.

Economic

Council of Ministers Session on Quality

LD2507224788 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1445 GMT 25 Jul 88

[Report on 22 July session of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers in Moscow—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Esteemed comrades, a session of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers devoted to an exmination of the USSR draft law on production quality was held on Friday, 22 July. The session was conducted by Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers. We present for your attention a report on this sitting.

[Ryzhkov] [video shows Ryzhkov standing at head of table] Comrades, before we get down to work I would like to say a few words. It is becoming a good tradition among us in the Council of Ministers to draw into discussions of some of the most important issues of the life of our country—and, indeed, of the life of every person—a large number of workers, scientists, and enterprise managers. This gives us the opportunity to gain more complete knowledge of and to compare points of view on one issue or another. Such an objective exchange of opinions enables us to find the correct solutions.

So, today, at the extended session of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, a most important question has been presented; that is, the draft law on quality.

You are aware that practial work on the implementation of radical economic reform is being carried out in the country, and, of course, in the complex of measures, the package of measures, the quality of output occupies a special position. We are convinced that, unless we solve the question of quality of production, we shall be unable to approach the questions the party and government have asked concerning further improvement in the state of affairs in the economy and the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

We think—and we are deeply convinced—that the roots of inadequate work in production quality lie fairly deep and—and this the main thing—they are of a complex nature. In other words, there is no single cause which, if eradicated, would enable us to solve the problem of production quality.

Let us just think about it, comrades. Our country is an exceptional phenomenon in the world, a country that has most immense natural wealth and immense human resources at its disposal. During the years of Soviet power a most immense scientific production potential and intellectual potential has been accumulated. In other words, we have everything we need to live richly. But can we say that this indeed is how we live and that this corresponds to that which we possess? I must say objectively that the answer is, no. We have an obligation to live better, but to do so we are obliged to work better and,' of course, this is connected with the quality of our output.

But just look: You and I produce more tractors in this country than all the capitalist countries combined. Yet we do not have enough tractors. Take combine harvesters, or rolled metal. We produce 110 million metric tons of it in the country, and we do not have enough; there is a shortage. We complain that there is a shortage of metal in the country. The United States consumes—I emphasize consumes—90 million metric tons, and its economy is one-third, if not more, more powerful than the economy of the Soviet Union. They have enough of this metal. So, somewhere there are roots that are not giving us the chance, as they say, to improve the effectiveness of social production. It turns out, then, that we simply are destroying our resources potential, our intellectual potential. This is simply impermissible.

Well, let us take the following every-day matter: In our country, each one of us uses 3-and-1/2 pairs of footwear per year. And in the United States, roughly the same: 3.3. They have the shoes, but we do not. This means that what is important is not the quantity; apparently the point is that we do not make the right sort of footwear. There are many such examples, comrades. Take the matter of construction.

After all, everyone knows of the bitterness people experience when they move to a new apartment. Everyone knows what the situation is like with every-day services for the population, how much trouble there is. All this, in the final analysis, relates to quality. I perceive this in the broad meaning: not simply the quality of some appliance or other, but the quality of our entire life, the quality of output, the quality of services, the qualitative attitude to labor. We are convinced that it is necessary to find solutions for increasing the quality of output in the economic sphere—first and foremost in the economic sphere, although administrative and legal measures alike are also needed; it goes without saying that this is necessary. Nevertheless, the root of the evil apparently is to be found first and foremost there.

I would even say that the matter of quality is not only an economic matter; it is also a sociopolitical matter. After all, when we are unable to satisfy the market, when we are unable to satisfy the needs of the national economy, then the justified censure of the working people arises in the final analysis. Foreign countries directly link this—and I want to tell you this openly—with the socialist system; they say that this is an organic deficiency of the system, not because we work badly but because this is the way the system is. Can one really agree with this?

This is why we know that there prevails an opinion, especially in a certain part of the population, that we are not capable of solving this problem. When a young person who likes clothes, some foreign jacket or other, and domestic appliances, says this one can understand. But when grizzled, old leaders write letters, a large number of letters, in which instead of making decisions on how to improve the quality of output, how to exploit the scientific-technical production potential, how to exploit what we have accumulated—after all, comrades, we in the Soviet Union have one-fourth of science, one-fourth of the world's science—but instead they write hundreds of letters saying buy abroad, because we cannot, we cannot do it ourselves. This is the point we have reached. This is why, comrades, this is a very serious matter.

I remember an address by one of the famous academicians—you know him, a former president of the Academy of Sciences, Comrade Anatoliy Petrovich Aleksandrov, the one who said in one of his addresses: We have contracted the import plague. But one has to think why we have caught this sickness. This means that apparently there is some reason or other for this sickness.

We have invited to today's session of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers 140 people, representatives of the working class, directors of enterprises, directors of institutes, leading scientists of our country, ministers of the USSR, and we want there to be today a detailed discussion of this matter.

The following agenda is proposed, if there are no objections: The report to be delivered by Comrade [Georgiy Dmitriyevich] Kolmogorov, chairman of the State Committee for Standards, a coreport by Comrade Amirzhanyan, candidate of economic sciences and director of the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Standards. Then there will be addresses and discussion. We have not asked anyone to speak in advance and have not put down anyone's name. This is why those wishing to speak should please send in their names. If there are no other proposals let us start our work.

[Kolmogorov] [video shows Kolmogorov standing and reading from paper] The problem of quality under conditions of radical economic reform and democratization, has acquired decisive importance and has become a determining factor in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, increasing the standard of living of the Soviet people, and gaining firm positions in external economic cooperation.

It is necessary to establish the precise attitude of all participants in the development, production, and consumption of output at all levels of management in order to solve these problems. These attitudes can best be regulated, without doubt, only in line with the law of the USSR. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] What questions are there? Vladimir Kuzmich [not further identified], if you please.

[Vladimir Kuzmich] The most long-term way is on the basis of defect-free work and with the output of production on the basis of the enterprise's guarantee, without the state acceptance system and without any control products. This is our long-term solution, but it is not mentioned. Why?

[Kolmogorov] The law provides precisely for the replacement of the state acceptance system in the future by certification of production. In other words, certification centers are due to be set up in the country....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] I have read this law, and it is not very clear to me what our policy is. What should we do next, shall we live by certifications, the state acceptance system, or the highest category? Perhaps in the end it will be divided up into certain states—say, today we live like this, but what about the long term? What are we doing, adopting a law for 2 or 3 days? Why are we not making use of experience, our own experience, foreign experience? This is a weak point, I think, a weak point in this law. Vladimir Mikhaylovich [not further identified], if you please.

[Vladimir Mikhaylovich] In Clause 6 it says that—I quote it directly—bringing a product in line with world standards is determined on the basis of the conclusions of the state attestation commission. We can accept a

product from any commission, but if it does not reach the world markets, then, so to speak, bringing it in line with world standards will....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] Vladimir Mikhaylovich, we have pinned badges of quality where it may be necessary or not, but we have not been able to sell anything abroad.

[Vladimiv Mikhaylovich] We have pinned a lot, but we can not sell, therefore....

[Ryzhkov] I still have a number of questions, but so as not to drag this out, just one more. Comrade Kolmogorov, you spoke about moral incentives in your report. I have found just one line in the draft law that says it is possible to confer upon a product the name of the inventor or the name of the manufacturer. Where are the moral incentives in this law? Quality groups are entered here in a very dry manner. The Japanese make all this stronger. Although you copied from there [words indistinct]. What do they consist of? In the end, it is not just a question of a person earning money there and so on; he also gets satisfaction from his work and so on. I do not quite understand this.

[Kolmogorov] The first incentive is the name of the manufacturer being conferred upon an article or a piece of technology, and the second is that a collective or an individual may be presented with a prize by the Council of Ministers, or a state prize.

[Ryzhkov] That is written here? I have not seen this here.

[Kolmogorov] No, no. But there is, so to speak, a section. We probably will have to add it into the law.

[Ryzhkov] [passage omitted] [Words indistinct] requirements of state standards you rightly draw attention to such needs as ecology [word indistinct] and so forth. Do you not think it essential to draw attention, especially at this stage of our economy, to such problems as energy saving?

[Unidentified speaker] In the draft law we do not go into such detail, but when we talk of the technical-economic indicators of the quality of output, we mean, first and foremost, of course, the amount of metal, the amount of material used, the amount of energy and so forth....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] But you are putting everything on the same level. Why do you always try to say beforehand, to restrict by some sort of percentages relations between enterprises? Do not forget that we are transferring our economy, primarily the enterprises, to full financial autonomy. The impression is being created that our law which you have presented does not mesh very closely with carrying out economic reform. [murmurs] You have some sort of means of fines and squeezes, percentages, and so on. But the economy, in the financial autonomy sector, although there is still a colossal collection of shortcomings, has already advanced ahead of you, in front. You are behind in these things so far. I even had to ask this morning whether there were any economists working here on economic reform. It seems that they have not been working very hard. How can such a law be introduced when it does not correspond to the tenets and laws we have adopted, in this case the law on socialist enterprise, the law on cooperative movement?

Forgive me, but you, Comrade Kolmogorov, in your speeches and reports you did not even mention socialist competition, the socialist market, competitiveness. You only pressed how much of a percentage you can squeeze, what percentage to allow, and so on. Such concepts, which are the moving force, are missing from the report, not to mention the law. We will not establish a regulation. The only request I have is to speak to the point of the matter, specificially, to provide the possibility for the comrades to speak a little more. Comrade Valentina Ivanovna Yeromina, chief engineer of the Sverdlov silk combine in Moscow.

[Yeromina] [Passage omitted] Here I show you some material, for example. You probably know that many women today try to buy items made of Indian fabric. This fabric is not Indian, it is made by us. I think it is no worse than Indian, but we did not launch it; it died at the design stage because today it does not accord with the index for [word indistinct] If you approach this fabric in a creative way, this index need not play a decisive role....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] What does that mean? Explain.

[Yeromina] It is when threads run during use. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] Thank you, Valentina Ivanovna.

[Announcer] Comrade Vladimir Vasilyevich Kadanenko, first deputy general director of the Avtovaz production association, takes the floor. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] Konovalov, please, chairman of the council of instructors at the Dnepropetrovsk electric locomotive construction works of the Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, a state prize winner.

[Konovalov] Everyone takes his own narrow view of things: A director takes his view; an academician takes his view; as a brigade leader I have my own view.

[Ryzhkov] Never mind, just you talk. [passage omitted] Vasiliy Vasilyevich, you are right to raise this question. Nowhere in the law is it stated that favorable conditions ought to be created for the manufacturing of high-quality produce: The rhythm, the high degree of organization, and so on, without which generally it will not work. They do not exist, and he is right to raise the matter.

[Konovalov] [passage omitted] The output of high-quality goods and produce depends on the cadres, too. Just as the cadres are educated and brought up, so.... [Konovalov changes thought] The law does not say that quality cadres should be produced.

[Ryzhkov] Generally that is a weak point in the law, the part about the retraining of cadres. This is the question of questions. Just look at what is being done in the world's leading firms: Up to 900 hours a year are spent in retraining. But here we do not even speak of the need for a system of retraining, to keep on teaching people so that they have certain skills and so on.

Comrade Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Sanchukovskiy, general director of the Minsk Gorizont production association of the Ministry of the Communications Equipment Industry, will now speak.

[Sanchukovskiy] In the law it did not prove possible to avoid some blank spots which already during the discussion today are obvious. The first thing is that one must not introduce the law under the economic conditions existing at present, in conditions of mutual relationships between industry, the trade network, and consumers, for we will immediately come up against the first contradiction between the USSR law on state enterprise and the law on quality. This must be done in any circumstances, of course. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] [passage omitted] Comrade Rem Aleksandrovich Belousov, head of the department for the management of socioeconomic processes at the Academy of Social Sciences attached to the CPSU Central Committee, doctor of economic sciences, and professor.

[Belousov] Comrades, I unfortunately cannot support the proposal that this document be passed on for nationwide discussion. I think that it does not come up to the requirements of being a basis for the discussion of such a law. This is not because I cannot fully appreciate the problem of quality, but it is precisely my concern for the condition of quality that tells me that such a document should not be published. We began to lag behind the dynamics of the development of quality some time in the seventies. The gap is widening, and if everything remains as it is—including the adoption of the law—then in the 1990's this trend, this gap, will be maintained again. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Ivan Stepanovich Silayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, who is in charge of machine building at the Council of Ministers, will now speak.

[Silayev] Comrades! When I received today's draft law I really did intend to say in my speech that the (?proposal) should be taken as a basis and that certain finishing touches, as they say, should then be considered ready for submitting for discussion. However, having examined it in detail I cannot propose this. I am in agreement with the comrades that here, of course, the diktat of the State Committee for Standards with regard to the administrative formulation of tasks and requirements is patently clear. The state law on quality must, nevertheless, create conditions for collectives to produce quality work, to achieve high results, and that in all this priority be given of course to the consumer. Here it seems to me that a comparison can be made with a game of football and the role of a referee: Either the referee, by blowing the whistle all the time, breaks up the game and nothing happens, or there is a normal game and the referee is not noticed, although he does not allow any fouls. Here, in general, of course, there is the same mechanism and thought.

I know that the State Committee for Standards and its apparatus will do a lot to remove this attitude but again it is now triumphant here, I would say. At all levels, on all lines, there are penalties, things one must not do, deductions in favor of the state, and so on. I think that this is, of course, a serious distortion. At the same time the role of the labor collective in this major process has been virtually eroded away. As far as I know, in world practice, too, the state standard is neveretheless a regulating means and in certain conditions protects the interests of society—we have there ecology, let's say, safety technology, and some other legal things. Everything else is, even improvization if you like, between the customer and the supplier. They have been given the right of determining requirements and level. It stands to reason that no customer will today order for himself bad output and no one engaged in manufacturing, or any supplier who is based today on an economic basis, will deliberately lay down the wrong parameters which in the final analysis will lead to the nonmarketing of his output.

In disputes between soneone engaged in manufacturing and a customer, if the matter is not sorted out between them with the drafting of a technical task and technical conditions, an entry should be made which says: If the ministries have not agreed to examine the matter, if the ministries have not agreed to examine the state committee for science and technology, and so on. I think that this is an obvious relapse of our old approaches to these matters. We need to examine the matter of the stage-by-stage implementation of individual clauses of this law. This is possible, obviously. The right of the Council of Ministers must be granted, according to the extent that the necessary conditions have been obtained, to introduce, let us say, this or that clause by means of certain directive documents.

If one speaks of this draft, it has to be, of course, rearranged to a major extent. First of all there must be precision in the way things are formulated, clarity and simplicity, and of course the sense of it must be to assist other laws, to ensure high quality, to protect the interests of the state, and to protect the interests of consumers. In the new conditions, taking into account what is taking place in our country today....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] [passage omitted] Comrade Yevgeniy Dmitriyevich Kurochka, head of the State Acceptance Service of the Leningrad Production Lectroengineering Works, the Kirov Elektrosila Association, candidate of technical science.

[Kurochka] My impression of the draft law: A huge amount of work has been done on it. All aspects, from the state's (?policy) to the defense of the consumer's rights and interest are scrupulously described in the relevant articles. However, I gained the impression that in this edition, the existing system of controlling quality is well described, based on formalist principles, and in some cases, I would say, even bureaucratic ones. [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] How do you see the problem of state acceptance in this law? We should like to know, what you as a person, think about this matter?

[Kurochka] It seems to me that the work of the State Acceptance Service and the enterprise is a conflict situation; from the very beginning, that is, how it was laid down, and that is how it is now. It is not yet decreasing.

[Ryzhkov] That's the idea, anyway.

[Kurochka] Yes, of course, that's the idea. Quality is created in this conflict. I think that the State Acceptance Service—it's been working for a 18 months now—first of all, of course, got rid of fraud. That was the end of that, at every enterprise I think. That was a very good thing. I think that the Law on State Acceptance should also establish responsibility. We should also be responsible in accepting, and bear [words indistinct] so to say, we shall make it possible for some to slip through.

[Ryzhkov] As a particular stage in our advance. Obviously, as far as quality of output is concerned, we need to find some sort of a place for State Acceptance, although [passage indistinct].

[Ryzhkov] Comrade Vladimir Nikolayevich Kudryavstev, academician, director of the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

[Kudryavstev] I think that the opinion of lawyers, my own and that of those present here, coincides with the opinion of most of those economists and economic managers who have spoken here, really with everyone who has spoken. That's to say we have to answer the questions which were asked first. For what time is this draft law orientated, what system is it based on? For what time, today or tomorrow? [passage omitted]

[Ryzhkov] [passage omitted] Comrade Yuriy Petrovich Batalin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR State Construction Committee.

[Batalin] The problem of construction quality is more urgent than in any other area of the economy, therefore our opinion is that the law on quality must definitely be disseminated in the building sphere too. Today practically all the speakers have mentioned state acceptance and the role of the State Standards Committee in all this system of controlling quality and ensuring the necessary quality.

It seems that we have certain contradictions which are evidently characteristic of a transitional moment when we are going from administrative measures to economic (?ones). And then? Then, as I understand it, the organs of State Acceptance must move onto economic methods, gradually, after a certain time. It must be determined after how long. I think it would be proper from them to act as intermediaries between consumers and producers, and they should naturally carry out their work according to the consumers' order. This is either certification or, let's say, monitoring consumer goods entering the shops, or on the production of single machines or units. It seems to me that it is expedient to determine somehow in our document, dynamics, the role of the State Standard and State Acceptance, the change in their functions as the economic reform is strengthened, and as the economic links between consumers and producers are strengthened. Probably the law could work well in the direction.

[Ryzhkov] Good. Comrade Yaroslav Nikolayevich Gorblatskiy, deputy director for quality, head of the technical control department Production Association.

[Gorblatskiy] [passage omitted] We now have more than 30 people (?in the State Acceptance Service).

[Ryzhkov] And in the apparatus of the technical control department?

[Gorblatskiy] The apparatus of the technical control department amounts to 145 people. There are 5,500 people working at the factory.

[Ryzhkov] Well, perhaps....

[Gorblatskiy, interrupting] In our ministry it is the lowest percentage level of workers in the technical control department. We have 3.4 percent, while some places have 6 or even 8 percent. We have only 3.4 percent.

[Ryzhkov] So I understand why you want to separate yourselves off from the director. The director is not involved in the technical control department. Could he not find funds to supplement the wages for 130 people out of 5,500? Actually, the decision dealt with this. We were certainly not thinking that the technical control department, of all things, would be cut and their wages raised. We thought the director would find a way. But in this case he does not value the technical control department. What can one say? Perhaps—the television is

working here—perhaps they can show this bit on television, and the director will feel ashamed. Let us ask the comrades to include this bit. [laughter] [indistinctly heard comment by Gorblatskiy] That is called speaking against yourself, is it not? Comrade Venyamin Davydovich Kalner, deputy general director of Zil.

[Kalner] I will read only one thing: point 3 of article 15. It says: Those producing items certified as higher category of quality have the right to choose independently and as a priority the suppliers of the material resources they need to increase the output of these goods. I beg pardon of all those here, but this just makes a producer laugh. We know that there is not enough in the reserves; there are shortages in the reserves. Here really what should be written is these things to Gossnab, Gosplan. What is written? They have the right to choose. We cannot get enough stock of what there is....

[Ryzhkov, interrupting] This is strange. In my opinion this is a very strange point, it is strange. I, too, when I was reading it thought: Well, comrades, it is divorced from life, is it not? There is a system of material and technical supplies. It is taking shape today. This is a card system although we are creating a wholesale market and so on. Suddenly out of this system there has to be some sort of third system making an appearance for this matter. This cannot be meant seriously.

[Kalner] That is all I have to say.

[Ryzhkov] [passage omitted] Comrades, today's discussion is making a very great contribution to the further elaboration, working through, and final shaping of the draft law. This morning, before the start of the Presidium session, I was able to chat with some members of the Presidium and clarify my position and point of view, because mine was a very uncertain point of view, because mine was a very uncertain point of view after I had read the material, after I had read through the law, and our—at least, my, and that of other comrades who are sitting here and with whom I chatted—our opinion was that the law could not, of course, be adopted in that form, but it could be adopted as a basis for further elaboration.

Well, Comrade Silayev said in his speech here that he had changed his opinion, and that he was changing his position. He really did tell me this this morning. I must say that I, too, join him. Obviously it is necessary to take another look at the whole problem of the formation of the draft law on quality and work through the question anew.

If we take it as the basis, I'am afraid that some cosmetic improvements to this law will be started, and in the end we will not achieve what is needed. We simply must not do this. That is inadmissible, impermissible. We need a law that changes fundamentally the situation of the quality of products. If today we do not have the conviction that the law which we are discussing today is that law, let us rather say honestly that the law so far will not do. The great shortcoming in this law—I'll submit some ideas and my opinion—is that there were obviously very few of our economists here. There was more of a technical orientation here and not an economic one. I think that the main organic shortcoming is the fact that this law stands to one side of our new economic mechanism. This is the main shortcoming.

You know, when you read it properly,, it smacks of the old times, when we used to set everything down in documents—the bureaucratic method, directives, how to turn, what fine you have to pay, and so on. Such an administrative method. I think our task is that we must find a mechanism, first of all of course an economic mechanism, which really would allow us to control the quality of output. Control it. For today everything is done in such a way that someone makes it, that is, someone produces the items and another sector monitors it. Here is the watershed in this law: If we do not link the interests of both the producers, the consumers, and so on, of course we won't get very far.

Even a fleeting scanning shows that we are not fully using the law on state enterprises. It contains provisions which sould be developed. So the very terms of reference of this law, I think, are not based on the foundation that has been laid down by our radical economic reform. I think this is the main shortcoming in the draft that has been submitted.

The second thing: Obviously we all realize that several provisions are a reflection of the fact that we are moving in stages. Let's take the question of State Acceptance. State Acceptance here has been so veiled that it is hard to find it even. It is somewhere there among other... [Ryzhkov changes thought] something is said somewhere. In my view it is necessary to give the formulation more clearly, to express relations more clearly, so that people can understand that State Acceptance is also one of our transitional periods.

I will tell you comrades: When we introduced state acceptance we were forced to embark on it. Consciously forced. We had no other way out. At that time no economic levers functioned at all. Even at present they function poorly, but at that time there was altogether nothing, while production quality was in an altogether catastrophic situation. And there was... [Ryzhkov changes thought] But at present the situation is, likewise, a most difficult one. That is why we went for it, although there have been a great many theoretical disputes; w met numerous scientists, held conferences and, indeed, scientists would tell us that this was no method, no method to raise quality. But we, too, understood that it was not the main direction to raise quality, it was, they said... [Ryzhkov changes thought] Apparently we should say exactly this in the law: That in keeping with the economic relations becoming more mature; that in keeping

with the economic stimulae coming into play, enforcing production of high quality output, we will, in all probability, have hardly any need for state acceptance.

Let us be frank: The technical control undermined itself at enterprises. It has become accustomed to feel at home there, to be a one with the administration of the enterprise. If the technical control sections had occupied a position of principle at the enterprises, would we have gone for state acceptance? Did we indeed fail to understand that it represents additional staff, additional expenditure, state's financial expenditure, that we take and divert qualified people? And we ensured sufficiently high wages in this area so that good people would go there. However, if the technical control has discredited itself and failed to occupy a position of principle—we were forced to take that step. After all, the question of what is to be done did arise.

Let us remove the technical control sections from being subordinate to the enterprise's management. We consider this incorrect, too. The technical control represents an organic part of the production process, especially given the present-day state of equipment, science and technology, and technological processes. It would also be incorrect simply to have it broken up, to hand it over somewhere, into some neutral hands, or to some completely different organizations.

That is why these questions ought to be correctly reflected. It must be said honestly, honestly; and it needs to be stated outright in the law that it is a matter of proceeding stage by stage and so forth, in keeping with the process of maturing; here I mean what kind of situation there will be, and people will understand right away that this is how it has to be done.

If we fail to develop the socialist market, socialisty rivalry, if we fail to struggle against monopolism, which is literally suffocating us all at present—will we indeed be in a position to create any law based only upon some sort of methods of pressure, of penalties, sanctions, and so forth? These are illusions indeed! We were dealing with this matter for decades. Tens of systems came and went and we remember it: The Lvov, the Saratov, and whatever systems you care to mention were there. Did things become better for us as a result? The root is not here. The root of evil is in something altogether different. It is necessary to find precisely this root which we will give a bit of treatment and which will begin to grow some sort of tree of production quality. Therein in my view lies the crux of the matter.

Comrades, in the comments it has been said that there is absolutely no appreciation of the human factor in this law. There are, here and there, quality groups, but this is written in such a dull manner and so impassively. It seems to me that when people read about the quality groups, they will not touch the law with a bargepole.

We must clearly elevate the role of workers' collectives, and, in general, elevate the role of the individual. We were once taught, when we were young engineers and technicians, that you can keep as many controllers as you like. But if an individual doesn't give quality, if he doesn't produce what he should, no controllers have ever saved him and none ever will. However, in this instance, the human factor has disappeared from this law. It is not there, we have to say—we must draw attention to this matter; and, at the end of the day, there is the moral side of the issue. Since when have skilled craftsmen been extinct in Russia? You know, we have very competent people. I understand there are areas where we still need to learn, where we are mastering some professions poorly. But we are overwhelmingly an educated people, and if there is a system of training and retraining cadres we shall be able to do all this. Therefore if we cannot find a place for the individual I believe this will remain a bureaucratic law which will be simply a law for the bosses; and we shall solve nothing. Without the working class, without the peasantry, and without involving everyone in quality, we shall only have talking among the bosses, report writing, and so on. I consider this to be a huge deficiency.

We have had a long debate on standards today. I, for example, support those speeches which criticized our standards, and I believe Comrade Kholmogorov should make the appropriate conclusions after today's extended sitting of the Council of Ministers Presidium. The fact is that our view of standards is, clearly, also an old view. Everything has to be noted down, every little detail has to be noted down in the standards; in other words, how we issued instructions as to how a designer should design a machine, so that through the standards we thus intend to design a machine. But how can this be practical? We should indeed introduce the provisions that are necessary in the standards. They are necessary, for example, in work safety, the ecological situation, power saving, materials intensity, and so on. I took a number of standards especially in order, as they say, to call to mind. I had a look—listen—I looked at the standards of a press. It's all written down—the width of the opening, the height of the framing, and so on. Surely that's not a matter for standards? This is matter for the designer! If that's how he's going to do it, let him do it! Why must we note down standards at every step? I think this is an old approach, this is a truly old approach, when we used to issue commands everywhere and about everything. Even where standards are concerned, we have failed to renounce this principle. That is why we do not have enough people in standardization, and so on. I believe we must alter the very approach to drawing up standards, to the essence of standards, in a most serious manner.

Well, comrades, there are still a number of other questions; I will not dwell on them; I believe we have had an interesting discussion, a great many interesting proposals have been voiced. We have had a shorthand report made. We shall pass the report on to the team; let them

study everything that has been said here. With regard to those proposals which the comrades have tabled, we will issue instructions that they be carefully examined.

All in all, comrades, I would like, on behalf of the Council of Ministers Presidium, to once again thank everyone here for their active participation in the debate on the issue. I think that when the comrades get down to work—we shall determine how much time they'll need—it may be a month or two that they need to work on it. I wish you success, comrades. Goodbye!

Discussion Program on Budget, Economic Policy

LD2307151388 [Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1000 GMT on 23 July, from its Ostankino radio studio, broadcasts a 60-minute recorded program entitled "The 19th All-Union Party Conference and the Problems of Radical Economic Reform." The program is presented by commentator Irina Starchakova with Oleg Nikolayevich Yun, doctor of economics and deputy chief of the Department for the Improvement of the Economic Mechanism, Planning, and Management at the USSR State Planning Committee; Professor Leonid Emmanuilovich Kunelskiy, head of the Combined Economic Directorate of the USSR State Committee for Labor and member of the collegium; and Sergey Vasiliyevich Gorbachev, first deputy chief of the Combined Department of Finances and Monetary Circulation of the USSR Ministry of Finance.

Listeners telephone or write in to the program with their questions in the period preceding the recording of the program.

Replying to a question on increased powers for local soviets, Gorbachev recalls that it is planned for the soviets to receive a regular income from enterprises within their territory starting from the 13th 5-Year Plan. Gorbachev says: "From 1989 it is planned to conduct an experiment which will work out the mechanism for forming republican and local budgets on the basis of stable and long-term norms. It is planned that the participants in the experiment will be the Georgian, Latvian, and Estonian SSR's, the Tatar ASSR, Sverdlovsk Oblast, and Moscow City. This experiment is based on strengthening the financial base of local soviets and union republics, linked to the results of activity by all enterprises in the relevant territories. It is envisaged that expenditure on developing the production and social infrastructure of the territory should be financed from, and within, the income received. The procedure for forming the incomes of republican and local budgets has been determined according to stable normatives for the remaining years of the 5-year plan."

Replying to a question on a imbalance in the USSR's budget, Gorbachev says: "Of course, we think that the budget deficit is a dangerous socio-economic phenomenon and it is necessary to apply every measure to initially stabilize it and then to totally eliminate it."

In reply to call for a monetary reform to improve the economy, Gorbachev says that no such reform is to be carried out.

A listener asks who will pay for the vast losses accumulated by the strikes in the Caucasus. Gorbachev says that current legislation already provides for financial sanctions against enterprises for nonfulfillment of contracts.

In conclusion, a listener asks who is the leader of the economic reform in the country and how can one get in touch with him? Gorbachev says: "One cannot name any individuals, specifically as a large circle of people are working on the economic reform. At the present time the preparation of all measures is headed by and supervised by, and measures to improve the economic reform are worked out by a specially created governmental commission, who aim to improve the management and planning of the economic mechanism headed by the USSR Gosplan chairman.

"A scientific section has been set up under this commission which includes eminent scientists, economists, and specialists in other spheres. This scientific section is headed by Academician Abel Gazevich Aganbegyan; the section's active ideologists are Academician Abalkin, Academician Bogomolov, and a whole range of others."

Average Wages Increase by 5.7 Percent

LD2707085988 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 27 Jul 88

[Text] The national statistical services says that the average wages of industrial and office workers in the Soviet Union increased by 5.7 percent in the first 6 months of this year against the same period last year. The earnings of cooperative farmers also increased considerably. There have been bigger budget allocations to finance free education and health service and pay pensions and various grants.

Agricultural

Grain Cutting Overtakes Haymaking Work

PM2607130788 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 23 Jul 88 p 1

[Livestock expert M. Glinka "Harvest Diary": "The Pace Is Still Slow. Build Up Feed Stocks Day by Day!"]

[Excerpts] Grain and feed, feed and grain—these two words, these two goals now alarm everyone because all of us—from workers to ministers, from crop farmers to state leaders—realize how much depends on the gigantic work that has unfolded in the country's grainfields and feed lands.

It has come about, the situation has taken shape in such a way that two most important agricultural campaigns have become intertwined and are happening simultaneously. In Russia's central region the first 179,000

hectares of cereal crops (104,000 hectares from Ryazan's farms) have been cut. In the Central Chernozem, the Volga, and North Caucasus regions the figure runs to millions of hectares and even in the Volga-Vyatka region, which is not usually given to heat, grain has been harvested from 170,000 hectares. [passage omitted]

The fact that the rates of feed procurement are now lower than last year is especially alarming. By 18 July, according to USSR State Committee for Statistics data, the country's livestock units had stored 42.4 million tonnes of hay and almost 48 million tonnes of haylage—5.2 percent less than 1 year ago. And the overall stocks of coarse and succulent feed have amounted to 39.3 million tonnes of feed units—which is also 2 percent less than last year. The fact that this disparity is increasing is particularly alarming. Per standard head of livestock—this is the most important indicator of livestock units' feed provisioning—4.5 quintals of feed units of the minimum of 20 quintals necessary have been stored. More than one-half this quantity—11.4 quintals, 9.2 quintals, and 7.5-7.7 quintals respectively—have been accumulated by the livestock units of Lithuania, Azerbaijan, Latvia, and Estonia. The kolkhozes and sovkhozes of the Ukraine (3.9 quintals) and Armenia (3.6) quintals are at the other end of the spectrum.

In the RSFSR 3.97 quintals of feed units have been procured per standard head of livestock. Here I would like to point out the dogged, successful work being carried out by the feed procurement workers in the North Osetian ASSR, Stavropol and Khabarovsk Krays, and Vologda, Leningrad, Kaluga, Smolensk, and Kirov Oblasts. Those lagging behind include Ryazan, Voronezh, Tambov, Kuybyshev, and Kurgan Oblasts. The extremely slow development of work in the Siberian livestock units is worrying. The 1 quintal, 50 kg, 20 kg, and 10(!) kg of feed units procured per standard head of livestock in Krasnoyarsk Kray, Tuva Oblast, Chita Oblast, and Buryatia respectively indicate not merely a lag, but the approaching danger of a lean overwintering, the threat of discarding livestock, and a decline in milk yields and weight gains. This must not be allowed.

Of course, the weather now is not doing us any favors—inopportune heat and downpours have caused a great deal of trouble. Suffice it to say that in some areas beyond the Urals the "spring" floods have not ended even in July. Nonetheless, in Novosibirsk Oblast the machine operators of Karasukskiy, Ordynskiy, Dovolenskiy, and Tatarskiy Rayons are mowing hay at quite high rates, whereas in Moshkovskiy, Bolotninskiy, Toguchinskiy, and Maslyaninskiy Rayons the work is only just unfolding. The oblast can be said to be the home of intensive labor collectives; they are indeed working intensively on feed procurement and making the fullest efforts. But by and large the plan for accumulating feed has only been 14 percent fulfilled and a total of 2.6 quintals per standard head of livestock stored. The situation is even worse in Kemerovo's livestock units (9.7. percent and 2 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock). In Omsk Oblast's Poltavskiy Rayon the hay procurement plan has been completed and in Isilkulskiy Rayon the target has been one-third overfulfilled, but as a whole the Omsk farmers have procured less than one-fifth of the planned quantity of coarse and succulent feeds. So it is not always the weather that is holding back the work everywhere. It is typical that, for some reason, the weather poses less of an obstacle to lease collectives and machine operators working on contract. Yet why are these forms of labor organization in a number of places still the exception rather than the rule?

Many livestock units in Kazakhstan intend to store at least 30 quintals of feed units per standard head of livestock. At present only 4.6 quintals have been procured. The republic's Council of Ministers recently discussed this question. Despite the complex conditions, feed stocks are rising rapidly in Tselinograd, Kustanay, Kokchetav, Aktyubinsk, and Uralsk Oblasts. Yet Chimkent, Kzyl-Orda, Dzhambul, and Alma-Ata livestock units, where conditions are rather better, are not displaying particular activeness. [passage omitted]

By the beginning of the second 10-day period in July the plan for procuring preserved feed from sun-dried grasses had been 56 percent, 46 percent, and only 10 percent fulfilled in Gomel, Minsk, and Grodno Oblasts respectively. Yet it is well known that the nutritional value of this feed decreases with every day that passes. The producers of vitamin grass meal also have something to think about. This product's name has imperceptibly lost yet another word—"protein-rich". Yet the "vitamin-rich" meal only justifies the large expenditure on its production when it is rich not only in carotene but also in protein. That is the kind of feed that can replace a considerable amount of concentrated feed cereals. When farmers in Vitebsk and Mogilev Oblasts prepare grain meal of which four-fifths is in the lower-quality groups, this inflicts a serious blow to the future productivity of dairy, meat, and poultry farms.

Feed is the grain of livestock farming. If we want increased meat and milk production and more plentiful, richer supplies of food, then we must have the same careful attitude to feed—its procurement, storage, and use—as to grain.

Agricultural Developments for 24-26 Jul

LD2707033088 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 24-26 July. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

24 July:

The mass harvesting of grain is under way in Udmurtiya. To date grain crops have been cut on the first 100,000 hectares. Rye, barley, and peas are being harvested here. So far the farmers are not very happy with the yield, a little over 8 quintals per hectare of grain on average in the autonomous republic. (0204)

Eared and grain crops have been threshed on 250,000 hectares of the sown area in Ryazan Oblast. State reception centers have already taken in 105,000 tonnes of grain. (0600)

Grain has been harvested from 40 percent of the grain-producing area in Mordovia. (0600)

Harvesting is coming to an end on the Crimea's grain fields. In the Mari non-Chernozem zone, grain harvesting has only started. (1000)

The harvesting of grain crops is nearing completion in Crimea Oblast. The average yield throughout the oblast has been over 32 quintals per hectare. This is 2 quintals higher than last year. About 1.4 million tonnes of grain have been delivered to the oblast's threshing floors. (1100)

25 July:

Grain has been threshed on 300,000 hectares in Ryazan Oblast to date, one-third of the area sown to grain here. To date 150,000 tonnes of wheat, rye, and peas have been poured into the state's granaries. (0204)

Harvesting is under way in Kharkov Oblast. Early grain crops are to be brought in from 727,000 hectares. According to the plan the oblast is to deliver 1.13 million tonnes of grain to the state. (0400)

One million tonnes of grain have been delivered in Stavropol Kray to date. (1100)

26 July:

To date Tambov Oblast farms have delivered 200,000 tonnes of grain to the state. (0400)

Harvesting of early grain crops has begun in the Altay Kray, where grain crops occupy over 4 million hectares. (1100)

The northern oblasts of the Ukrainian SSR have begun grain harvesting. By the beginning of the second 10-day period of July, about 2 million tonnes of grain had been delivered to the elevators. [Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT]

The harvest has begun in Lithuania, where farmers have to clear more than 1 million hectares. Results so far show an average of 33 quintals of grain. The republican press has published an appeal from the Lithuanian Council of Ministers calling for town dwellers to join rural workers in efforts to ensure that not an ear of grain is lost. Combiners bear a particularly heavy load since both grain and grasses need to be brought in at the same time, so that all resources have been brought into play since the first day of harvesting. (1300)

More than 2,500 combiners and vehicles have been taken out into Kaliningrad Oblast fields. Intensively farmed areas are producing 30-40 quintals per hectare over 22 quintals elsewhere. (1300)

The Volga rayons of Kuybyshev Oblast have begun harvesting grain 1 and ½ weeks ahead of time. However, the machinery on which the farmers were counting under a contract with Kuybyshev's industrial enterprises, has not yet arrived. This also applies to other rayons, so that there are failures in the flow between field, threshing floor, and elevator. (1300)

In Latvia massive harvesting of grain crops has started, this year much earlier than in previous ones. Thus by 25 July, 7 percent of the grain crops had already been harvested. This level was reached only on 17 August last year. Yield is also approximately at last year's level, and last year saw the highest yield ever reached by Latvian grain crops. Haste must be made before the onset of September rains. (1330)

Scientific

Meteorological Satellite Launched 26 Jul

LD2607125188 Moscow TASS in English 1241 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—A meteorological satellite, "Meteor-3", was launched by the "Tsiklon" carrier-rocket in the USSR today. The sputnik was launched with a view of further perfecting the meteorological system with the use of artificial satellites, including testing information-measurement equipment and methods of remote sounding of the atmosphere and the surface of the earth in the interests of different branches of the national economy of the USSR, and science.

The sputnik was put into an orbit with the following parametres:

The initial period of revolution—109.4 minutes.

The maximum distance from the surface of the earth—1,221 kilometres.

The minimum distance from the surface of the earth—1,198 kilometres.

The inclination of the orbit—82.5 degrees.

The sputnik carries complexes of optico-mechanical scanning television and radiometric equipment and also instruments for geophysical explorations.

The equipment aboard the sputnik is functioning normally.

Activities of Cosmonauts Aboard 'Mir' Updated

LD2607100388 Moscow TASS in English 0944 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] Moscow July 26 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Mission Control Center:

Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov are continuing their long-duration orbital flight.

Their program of work for today provides for studies to determine the optical characteristics and evaluate the condition of the space station's windows, experiments involving the magnetic spectrometer Maria, and maintenance work in individual on-board systems.

In keeping with a program for astrophysics studies, the orbital observatory Roentgen was used on July 24 and 25 to conduct several watches on the constellations Centaur and Hercules.

To determine the optimum regimes of physical exercise as one of the more effective ways of preventing the unfavorable impact of weightlessness on the human organism, the cosmonauts yesterday performed an experiment codenamed Sport.

According to the findings of medical monitoring, Titov and Manarov are in good health and feeling well.

The flight of their research complex Mir is proceeding normally.

Afghan To Join Crew

LD2607093888 Moscow World Service in English 0700 GMT 26 Jul 88

[Text] In late August, two Soviet and one Afghan cosmonaut are to arrive in the orbital complex Mir. Their work will focus on experiments designed to explore Afghanistan's natural wealth. Space survey will help conduct geological prospecting and determine underground water resources. The international crew will get aid in their work from the Soviet Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov, who are in the 8th month of their space mission.

Military

Meeting Marks Anniversary of Commandant's Office

PM2607132188 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Jul 88 First Edition p 4

[Lieutenant Colonel S. Kalinayev report: "Moscow Commandant's Office 70 Years Old"]

[Text] It has glorious traditions. During the civil war years the commandant's office personnel guarded the capital's most important plants and factories and ammunition, food, and fuel dumps. In addition, it waged a struggle against counterrevolutionary elements and deserters. During the Great Patriotic War it controlled the draft and military formation centers and the construction of bomb and gasproof shelters and ensured order at railroad stations, large and small.

A ceremonial meeting devoted to the 70th anniversary of Moscow City's military commandant's office was held at the M.V. Frunze Central House of the Soviet Army on 22 July. V. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, presented an honorary testimonial of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to the military commandant's office. The meeting was addressed by Army General K. Kochetov, commander of Moscow Military District and chief of the Moscow City Garrison, who read out a greetings message from the USSR defense minister and the chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate. Lieutenant General V. Serykh, the capital's military commandant, spoke about the history and the present day of the commandant's office.

Army General V. Govorov, chief of USSR Civil Defense and USSR deputy defense minister, was present at the meeting.

Yazov Notes Problems, 'Hazing' in Armed Forces

OW2307051388 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2120 GMT 16 Jul 88

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program; interview with Army General D.T. Yazov, USSR minister of defense, by unidentified correspondent during the 21st session of the Committee of Warsaw Pact Defense Ministers in Moscow—recorded]

[Text] [Correspondent, question in process] ...the name of the current session. We usually say that "current" means a planned one. Nevertheless, the atmosphere for the session was such that we had to hold this current session.

[Yazov] This is correct. We are holding this session now, and we are placing questions raised by the situation on the current agenda. We have reached understanding and unity. By the way, this unity is always there. I think this will promote the strengthening of the defense capacity of all our states and the entire Warsaw Pact.

[Correspondent] We observed the defense ministers in our military units—of air and ground forces—and, in general, we saw a complacent, happy, and assured mood. Is everything really so smooth and peaceful and are there no problems of any kind in our fraternal community?

[Yazov] Why are there no problems? Without problems, we would not have gathered. We have gathered because there are problems which should be solved. As for the friendly and comradely atmosphere, should we express some kind of reproof as soon as we meet? Besides...

[Correspondent, interrupting] And make serious faces?

[Yazov] No, no. We speak to each other at the ministerial level in a certain manner, but when ministers meet soldiers, they naturally speak the language which should be spoken. Without a doubt, every army has something which can be borrowed or adopted. We conduct exchanges among several of our armies, subunits, as well as experience. For example, a company of the Czechoslovak People's Army spends a whole week—sometimes a month—in our regiment, and our company spends an entire month or a week in their regiment. Roughly, this is how it is done. The same thing is done with the Polish Army. You know, I have neither heard of nor seen any confrontation among soldiers. This does not take place. Whenever we hold joint maneuvers, the spirit of friendship is always there. Well, we can say, after all, that commanders cultivate this and prepare for these maneuvers. However, it is hard to say what everyone has on his mind. I think that most of the men have a mood for friendly relations, study, and working together.

[Correspondent] Yesterday, we asked Czech officers if they were familiar with the negative phenomenon occurring in some of our subunits: hazing [dedovshchina]. It took them a while to translate this word, but they said: Yes, yes, we have it, too. However, they did not have time to dwell in detail on ways being used to fight it. You probably know about this phenomenon. They have this, too, and their methods...

[Yazov, interrupting] As late as yesterday, I received a mother's letter. A mother sent me her son's letter in which he wrote: Mother, try to get me out of this unit; otherwise, I will be beaten up. He had only been in the unit for a week. Nobody has touched him, nobody has talked to him properly, and he has not yet taken any military oath. However, beforehand, he wrote a letter to his mother: Mother, they are killing me! She, in turn, writes to all departments, writes to the minister. There is more talk about this hazing. What is this hazing? There are senior soldiers, and there are young ones. This has always been so, it is so, and it will remain to be so. What are the mutual relations between them? This is another question.

[Correspondent] In general, the atmosphere in the armed forces today—both in the joint armed forces and in our Soviet Army and Navy—is probably the most favorable...

[Yazov, interrupting] The most favorable for good military training.

Yazov Addresses Frunze Academy Graduates

OW2507044288 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2130 GMT 23 Jul 88

[From the "I Serve the Soviet Union" program; USSR Minister of Defense, Army General D.T.Yazov, address to graduates at the Frunze Military Academy on 12 July—recorded]

[Text] Many generals and officers of today were admonished with words of farewell in this hall—as you are today. Many of them have, with the passage of time, become prominent military commanders and political workers, have commanded units and armies, ships and fleets. They are successful in this as they are in solving the tasks of technically equipping the army and navy, personnel education and training, as well as strengthening the might of the Soviet Armed Forces. Bright prospects are open for you as well.

I cordially congratulate you on the completion of your education and wish you great successes in further service. [video shows graduates receiving orders on their new postings]

Stereotyped and hackneyed standards of work and the habit of constantly looking to superiors for approval are not acceptable during the time of perestroyka. This habit is what I call the midwife of stagnation, because it is precisely this that has given birth to spinelessness, inactivity, mockery, and indifference. The readiness and the ability to accept responsibility, to make a decision, and to strive for its implementation, the ability to realize in full the delegated authority for the good of the cause, and to act with initiative and courage—these qualities always were among the main merits of an officer. In the time of perestroyka and the renewal of all spheres of life in the armed forces, these merits are particularly valuable. Moreover, these qualities should be unconditionally combined with high competence, profound knowledge, and the steadfast fulfillment of the requirements of service regulations and duties.

An officer, the essence of whose profession is sacrifice and heroism, is called upon to set an example of industriousness and discipline. [video shows graduates' everyday life at the academy]

An officer should be able to organize the soldiers and sailors masses for active, interested, and responsible implementation of the tasks of combat preparedness, readiness, and discipline. He should, in reality, place the man, the fighting man, at the center of the whole life of the Army and Navy, and fully utilize the human factor. In this lies the idea of the democratization in the Armed Forces. [video shows graduates during their military training]

It is necessary to persistently learn to work in the atmosphere of democracy, glasnost, openness [otkrytost], and truth, to master the art of discussion, and to live in the atmosphere of mutual respect. The right of a commander to make a decision and to give an order is unquestionable. One should not, however, equate this with inflexibility [odnovariantnost] and static thinking. Similarly, strict regulation of mutual relations between servicemen, which is absolutely necessary, has nothing to do with banning criticism and free exchange of views.

When we strengthen perestroyka and the process of democratization, it is important to actively use the weapon of glasnost for exposing and decisively overcoming the mechanisms of obstruction that exist in some places. One should persistently and uncompromisingly

expose specific exponents of formalism, bureaucracy, and complacency. Our duty is to consolidate in military collectives the authority of honest and selfless military labor and to strive to preserve and improve our heroic combat traditions by all available organizational, political, and educational means.

Officials on Military Authors, Army's Directions

OW23070923 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 2115 GMT on 9 July carries the scheduled 60-minute "I Serve the Soviet Union" program. One 24-minute segment of the program is devoted to the interview given to an unnamed correspondent by Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and Vladimir Vasilyevich Karpov, chairman of the Board of the USSR Union of Writers.

Video shows Lizichev and Karpov standing among a group of uniformed men, conversing with the correspondent. Lizichev says: This offer of the minister of defense [that Soviet authors undertake study of the routine life of a Soviet Army unit] was very warmly received by the Board of the Union of Writers. Vladimir Vasilyevich here took a very active part in this. Authors, the younger ones, who wish to write on the military-patriotic topic, have voluntarily expressed their wish to undertake this study. We did everything possible to make this study beneficial to the cause, with the full understanding of the essence of our contemporary military work. We wish that the things written about the Army be truthful, honest, and in the tradition of our people, who consider the Army a school of courage and education, which prepares a defender of the motherland and the state interests. This is our main objective.

After two men in officer's uniforms speak, Karpov says: I am absolutely convinced that while they [the authors] were studying military craft here, they looked upon everything from the writer's point of view. They have absorbed everything, and all this will eventually find its way onto the pages of their works and we will see written works about the modern Army. The goal of general and total disarmament is somewhere far, far in the future. There still remains distrust and the possibility of critical situations when an armed man is needed. Or, as Lenin had said, a man with a gun. This man had always guarded his motherland, and he is still needed today. Unfortunately, there are people who do not understand this need.

Video then shows authors observing military maneuvers, inspecting arms, light machineguns, and tank equipment, then cuts to a subsequent meeting. Lizichev, among other speakers, addresses the meeting. He says: Dear friends, allow me, on behalf of Army General Comrade Dmitriy Timofeyevich Yazov, USSR minister of defense, the Board of the Union of Writers, the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy, and all officers present who represent our glorious Taman Division, to congratulate our dear comrades receiving military ranks and completing the course of military studies, or more correctly, the military-writing course.

Today we are having an unscheduled meeting of authors and readers, both wearing shoulderboards. It is a good thing when both meet. I am happy that soldiers, sergeants, warrant officers, and officers of the Taman Division were catching you at every intersection to get your autographs. This shows how our people and our Army love and respect your labor. We will do everything to foster this love and loyalty of the soldier for his people. Soldiers love good authors who glorify our country's patriotism, love of motherland, and loyalty to this motherland. These authors we love, and we will always meet these authors with an embrace and join them in the great cause of educating our youth in the spirit of loyalty to our military and labor traditions, and to our great socialist fatherland.

Today you watched soldiers at work. I will say that these soldiers' actions were the result of elaborate preparations. It is difficult work. Comrades, speaking on behalf of our Army and Navy, I will say that 99 percent of our soldiers and officers perform their duties with excellence and understand the measure of their responsibility for the defense of the motherland and the trust they enjoy. Together with the shoulderboards, they carry on their shoulders the enormous responsibility of defending the motherland.

Perestroyka, comrades, has also touched the Army as well. I realize that you have listened to lectures and that the nature of this restructuring is unknown to the officers. However, I would like to enumerate them, so that the authors in particular would not leave here merely with military knowledge but would also understand the essence of today's restructuring of the party and political work within the armed forces of the USSR. I speak of our perestroyka. To make it brief, the goal of perestroyka primarily lies in the change to quality. To a qualitative level of military equipment and a qualitative level in the composition of the armed forces, including the enlisted personnel.

This is the further development of the Soviet military science, for Lenin said: The Red Army cannot be built without science. This is the goal, the goal of the Army. It demands enormous efforts. It demands new efforts. It demands new methods of education.

If we were to speak of the directions of perestroyka, then the main ones are as follows: First is perfecting the workstyle of the senior Army and Navy leadership. This includes everyone from the minister of defense and the chief of the Main Political Directorate down to, and including, the company commander. The style needed today, in the period of restructuring, is to be businesslike, the style of knowing one's business, the style of knowing how to do things. This is the main thing.

Secondly, it is the strict and steady implementation of a personnel policy. This stems from the position of making our cadres, particularly the officer ranks, closer to the people. Providing them with a very good professional education, making them into men of high performance and culture who will always care for their men—for the soldiers and sailors. The selection of these people, the work with them, their education, and the demands made of them will continue to increase. In this respect, we are achieving some results. We had to part with a certain number of the officer corps, and I think that we only gained from this. We part with those who cannot work in the spirit of the present demands of the party Central Committee, and we are not sorry about this.

The third direction is, primarily, to achieve a new level of quality in political and moral matters, as well as military discipline in our personnel. This is the most important question. The matter here lies not merely in a radical change in the spirit of the demands made by the party Central Committee and in ideological work, but this, comrades, is also a great issue connected with discipline.

The phenomenon of the so-called non-regulation behavior, or hazing [dedovshchina] is not idle chatter. It exists in the Army and it is a matter for concern. The struggle, the resolute struggle has been going on for 3 years. We are using both therapeutic and surgical methods, and they are bringing some results. There has been a decline of this phenomenon. We now have not only regiments and ships, not only units and divisions, but there are large formations where this phenomenon is absent. But while it exists anywhere, no officer can rest easy. All these things are contrary to our system, customs, and the traditions of the Army and Navy, and we view these phenomena as intolerable. We will continue the struggle against these things persistently, consistently, and mercilessly.

Video cuts to group of men in officer's uniforms leaving the building where the meeting was held, as narrator says that the concluding study period is completed.

Military History Institute Chief Interviewed

PM2607145788 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jul 88 First Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel General D. Volkogonov, chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Military History Institute, by "our correspondent" Major V. Cherkasov: "Colonel General D. Volkogonov: We Must Write Honest Books"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The deputy chairman of the chief editorial commission of the new 10-volume edition of "The Soviet People's Great Patriotic War" ["Velikaya Otechestvennaya voyna sovetskogo naroda"] and chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Military History Institute answers our correspondent's questions.

[Cherkasov] Comrade Colonel General, a few months ago you were appointed chief of the USSR Defense Ministry Military History Institute. The new stage in your official, scholarly, and public activity coincided with an unprecedented growth in mass interest in history, in everything which can shed light on the pages of our country's life which were closed in the recent past and make us see anew and rethink what we know and gain a deeper understanding of the complex, contradictory process of present-day changes. How do you assess the present state of historical science, what are its positions on military history? To what extent is it prepared to answer the questions raised by restructuring?

[Volkogonov] Indeed, in our fatherland's history, at any rate in this century, I can find no precedent for such colossal interest in our past. Including our military past. I explain this by several reasons.

The first of them is that we have now entered a stage of renewal which can be called the stage of Leninist resurrection. In politics, ideology, the economy, culture... And it is impossible to effect this resurrection without firm reliance on objective scientific knowledge. Primarily historical knowledge. Without this knowledge we cannot build an integral concept of the development of a society advancing to a qualitatively new state, understand the dialectic of the developing processes, or see the contradictoriness of their reflection in the mass consciousness. This idea, in my view, was heard most convincingly at the 19th all-union party conference.

Today we are seeking answers to at least two closely interconnected questions. On the one hand: "What do we want to liberate ourselves from?" On the other: "What kind of socialism do we want to build?" It is clear what we want to liberate ourselves from. From Stalinism in all its manifestations and consequences. Stalinism seems to me to be a distorted theory and practice of socialism. And everything connected with this—dogmatism, bureaucracy, authoritarianism...—should be eliminated. Eliminated in a consistent, principled, calm manner without unnecessary passion, without excesses. But thoroughly. And it is impossible to do this without going to the roots of Stalinism. History helps us reveal the roots...

"What kind of socialism should we build?"—this question, which even recently seemed seditious, was raised during the nationwide discussion of the CPSU Central Committee Theses before the party conference. We have not yet found a complete reply, but we have defined precisely the main avenues of the social transformations which are returning a Leninist countenance to socialism. They were prompted by history and its experience. Experience both inspiring and tragic.

We look into our past as into a mirror. In order to understand the present and see the paths of the future... And the mirror should not be a distorting one.

In this connection historical science and military history in particular have a great debt to society.

The content of the criticism which is now being leveled against them increasingly frequently (although it is often expressed in an abusive, crude form, which is incompatible with political and intellectual culture) as a whole reflects the real state of affairs. Our readers are dissatisfied with the quality of the elucidation of the past.

Yes, in recent years the Military History Institute has published many major, fundamental works. The most important was the 12-volume "History of the 1939-1945 World War" [Istoriya vtoroy mirovoy voyny 1939-1945"]. Of course, I cannot deem to be fair the reproaches that this edition describes "a different war." After all its fundamental propositions are based on documents—archive materials, eyewitnesses to events, and sources worthy of trust. At the same time it must frankly be said that the 12-volume work contains not only things which are not stated in full but also pages of silence. In particular silence about the initial period of the war. Its start was catastrophic for us. And in our "History of World War II..." with regard to this period we seldom meet the words "defeat" "encirclement," or "captive..."

Without the full truth about how it all was, it is impossible to regain our people's trust in historical science or to understand the grandeur of what was accomplished and the sources and significance of our victory.

[Cherkasov] In this connection the new 10-volume "Great Patriotic War of the Soviet People," whose preparation has been assigned to the USSR Defense Ministry, USSR Academy of Sciences, and CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, is called on to satisfy public interest in one of the most dramatic periods in our history. How can you briefly describe the purport of the new edition? What fundamentally new tasks is the authors' collective setting itself?

[Volkogonov] Above all we must write honest books. We do not have the right to adapt ourselves to any considerations of expediency, to play up to abusive criticism, to succumb to our own emotions. We must look dispassionately at everything which happened.

The very title of the new edition already contains its main idea, its main pivot, and, I would say, the central conception of the work—the people at war. The people are the main hero of war, the main creator of victory. All our previous historical publications had not a little to say about the role of the people's masses in the war, but as a whole, it seems to me, this problem requires even deeper consideration... I think we must show clearly that the people's outward dependence on leaders, military chiefs, and high-ranking bosses is not a self-sufficient, determining dependence. Ultimately leaders can show themselves only thanks to the activity of the people's masses. We must reveal more vividly and broadly this correlation in the history of the war because it has been considerably distorted in the mass consciousness. For instance, I receive many letters from war veterans. Often they contain as a refrain the following thought: "Stalin led us to victory, Stalin won..." But any exaggeration of the role of the individual is inevitably linked to the belittlement of the role of the people. And we intend to say honestly that in the preparation for the war and in its initial period the country's political leadership perpetrated major errors which had a tragic effect on the course of the confrontation with Hitler's Germany and its allies. Yes, subsequently Stalin and the Supreme High Command Headquarters exercised leadership more skillfully. But we must be clearly aware that this increased competence was paid for with enormous sacrifices on the part of the people, the party, and our entire society.

It is well known that war is at least a two-sided process. An analysis of all the works formerly written that approximately 95 percent of their content is devoted only to our side—to our army and our people. And what is said is also one-sided. We are always the victors. But, I stress, if the process of armed, economic, political, and ideological antagonism is to be shown objectively, we must render its due to the strength and might of our adversary. Unfortunately, a considerable proportion of our archives, including military archives, has still not been really studied on this score. Trophy archives—and we have an enormous quantity of these—are virtually untouched by historians.

At the same time we must also fully reflect the coalition nature of the war. We must describe our allies in a more detailed and balanced way. Their role in the war in a number of cases was considerably greater than we previously admitted.

The war in our country used to be viewed predominantly at the strategic level, sometimes at the operational level. For instance on the scale of army operations. But we spoke only very rarely of war at the tactical level: at the level of the division, regiment, or battalion. Yet essentially it is often at this level that the role of man, of the people's masses, in war is manifested...

We must resolve the problem of the so-called blank spots in the history of the war. Here we must have a clear idea of the fact that history of itself remains the same and what has been carried away by the river of time cannot be changed. Our views, our assessments, our consideration, of historical processes change. Unfortunately the historical culture and historical awareness of many people today lag behind the level of society's social development. This lag is connected, on the one hand, simply with elementary ignorance of some events and facts of history and on the other with the assimilation of deformed ideas of the war, when false assessments were made for the benefit of personality-based, political, and other considerations of expediency and, as stereotypes, began to roam from one work to another and became ideological directives. But we would not want to replace some stereotypes with others, to impose our viewpoint

on the reader. After all there are events and phenomena in the past war which cannot be assessed uniformly. There are contentious viewpoints. Which of them to adopt? We will seek in a number of cases to acquaint the reader with different assessments and versions.

[Cherkasov] But work on the 10-volume edition had scarcely begun before it gave rise to many critical remarks from the scientific public and rebukes that everything has been organized "according to old, unjustified canons," that everything has been taken "under the military department's directive control," that "a system for leading the work based on administration through command" has been created, that the Military History Institute has assumed the preparation of three-fourths of the materials... Such rebukes are contained in particular in the statements by Doctor of Historical Sciences O. Rzheshevskiy and several other historians. What new approaches are there in the creation of the authors' collective and the organization of its work? How will new proposals and wishes be considered? For instance, it is known that there is an alternative structure for the new edition, that there was a proposal that both versions be published in the press and that the relevant conclusions be drawn from public opinion.

[Volkogonov] I think that a "nationwide referendum" on what the work should be hardly needs to be conducted. As for the drafts for its structure, they have been sent to all competent scientific organizations. We have received an enormous number of comments. We are now working out the fourth or fifth version of the structure and we are considering many proposals. For each volume of the edition it has been decided to hold open conferences, widely enlisting the scientific public. Such a conference has already been held for the first volume. Both our opponents and those who support our concept were present. This form of work, in my view, is democratic. Anyone has the right to speak and express his viewpoint. We endeavor to heed each viewpoint and take from it what is rational.

But I think that not all critical rebukes can be accepted. For instance, that only administrators and incompetent people with nothing to do with science and so forth are represented on the chief editorial commission. I would like to emphasize that the chief editorial commission contains nearly 30 academicians and corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences and doctors of sciences. I do not think that the commission's composition should be expanded still further.

In addition we are cooperating very closely with the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of History of the USSR and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of General History. And, of course, with the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. One recent major measure was the joint discussion of the methodological problems of the Great Patriotic War. All those interested were invited and had the opportunity to speak.

We invited a large number of scientists to take part in preparing the new edition. Many chapters and sections are being written by specialists from academic institutes and the Academy of Social Sciences... The way is open to all those who will propose original ideas and new approaches to the elucidation of a particular period of history.

As for the publication of an alternative version of the work's structure. Perhaps a broader discussion might indeed be of benefit. But unfortunately we are restricted in our schedule for work on the edition. Publication would probably take 3-4 months. Then discussion would take another 6 months. But every month counts for us.

But I think that the following impression is formed of us, frequently in advance: Since it is a military scientific organization that means it is something stagnant, ossified, conservative... Some people are mistaken in thinking that. We are also changing. We are also trying to master, to overcome the shortcomings inherent today in any other scientific organizations, we are seeking to democratize our scientific process to the maximum, we are seeking opponents and arguing with them very fairly and deriving much mutual benefit from these arguments.

So I believe we have already set up cooperation. On the other hand, it is obviously premature to say that all problems are being resolved rapidly and successfully. There is a particularly large number of difficulties in work on the first volumes devoted to the prewar period and the initial period of the work. A mass of problems has arisen—problems which have still not been resolved on a general methodological basis as a whole. There are virtually no good publications on party history. That is why we intend to hold "roundtables," discussions, and seminars on all major, complex, problems of history... All this in an atmosphere of broad glasnost. We are trying to publish materials on many vexed questions in order to evaluate the public's attitude toward them.

[Cherkasov] In this connection many researchers are concerned by the question of access to previously closed documents. Particularly of the prewar period and initial period of the war. Is there an opportunity of organizing the publication of such materials promptly?

[Volkogonov] Unfortunately, as before, not all archives are open. There have already been many mentions of this in the press but the question remains unresolved. I must say that many important documents from the archives of the USSR Defense Ministry and the Soviet Army archives were removed after the 20th CPSU Congress and have not been returned. And of course we will be unable to recreate a full picture without all the documents. We now want to study many new materials not in demand before. We are seeking to use as many pieces of evidence as possible from war veterans. That is we are trying to ensure that the work is different not simply in form, not simply in terms of our good intentions, so to speak, but also in terms of its scientific information .

That the work is richer and more varied, and accords with our thinking as it is healing and being renewed and with the markedly increased spiritual requirements and intellectual interests.

[Cherkasov] You have already mentioned the strict deadline for preparing the new edition. It is well known that the publication of the last volume is planned for the 50th anniversary of the Victory. What deadline would you set for yourself if you were able?

[Volkogonov] It is hard for me to answer that question. I would still do my part, what I have to write, within the toughest deadline. I try to write rapidly without dragging out my work. But in this case it is a matter of collective work. Work of particular responsibility and large volume.

Indeed, the schedule is tough: 10 volumes in 5-6 years. You only have to compare it with the previous 12-volume edition, which took 11 years to publish. But now that the decision has been taken we have approached the deadline on the jubilee principle. But is that justified? What would change if only the fifth or sixth volume had appeared by the time of the 50th anniversary of the Victory? We believe that the present deadline was not scientifically substantiated. We will ask for it to be revised. That is our viewpoint.

[Cherkasov] And a last question. You spoke of the importance which you attach to war veterans' reminiscences. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's mail contains many letters from frontline veterans which contain new facts and sometimes unexpected opinions of events of the Great Patriotic War. Are the authors of the new work interested in this evidence?

[Volkogonov] Yes, of course. We also receive many letters. Every editorial board of each volume has, in addition to common archive materials, a unique archive for each volume. War veterans send us reminiscences, proposals, and copies of documents. All this helps us. And the more such materials we have at our disposal, the more precisely our scientific quest will proceed.

And one more point. Of course, it is possible to create a profoundly scientific, fundamental work, but one which will be of interest only to a narrow circle of scholars and specialists. Yet it is planned to produce a large number of copies of this edition. That means that in setting to work we must have our eye on the mass reader. One of the most important demands on the authors is that the work should be interesting. With a multiplicity of new evidence, conclusions, and assessments. Authentic, sincere assessments. Here we are striving to ensure that it is written at the point where in-depth scientific analysis and good journalism join. That is very difficult. But we will strive to resolve the task set us.